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An Historical Review

VOLUME 25, NUMBER 1 JANUARY 1943

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VOLUME 25 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 14 NUMBER 1

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The Beginnings of the Society of Mary in Texas, 1852-1866

Situated on the edge of the great plains in a mesquite-covered valley of south-central Texas, the city of San Antonio in 1850 presented a picture not to be duplicated elsewhere in the United States. Though hardly more than a frontier village, it could trace its history back beyond a hundred and thirty years. Founded as a Spanish outpost in 1718, it had earlier witnessed such political and economic rivalry of an international character that in 1850 many distinct foreign influences were to be found in the appearance of the city and in the cosmopolitan character of its population.

The frontier community of San Antonio in the pre-Civil War days was largely isolated from the rest of the country. Near the Mexican border, the city was the focal point of what trade there was with Mexico and western Texas; moreover, it could also boast of some military importance by reason of its frontier position and because of the Mexican War. In its everyday life and culture it gave evidence of its heritage, for the national groups forming its population had been uniquely fused and intermingled in customs and habits. From the political and economic life in the United States its citizens were apart. They were inclined to speak of "the States" and "news from the States" when referring to sections of the country other than Texas.[1] Outside contact in 1850 was making little impression on the sleepy hamlet of some three thousand inhabitants.

The spiritual life of the citizens was characterized by an indifference and a lethargy of long standing and there was little to show for the century of labors of the Spanish missionaries. The deeds of the early Spanish friars had been heroic and useful, but after the secularization of the missions there were no workers to carry on the labors begun by the zealous priests. For the want of ministers to take care of the spiritual needs of the people, religion gradually lost its former important place in the community. By 1850 San Antonio was no more alive spiritually than it was politically and economically.

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[1] *San Antonio Express,* June 21, 1927, citing *Leslie's Weekly,* New York, January 15, 1859.

The backward status of religion in San Antonio and in Texas generally had been brought to the attention of the authorities of the Catholic Church years previously, and efforts toward bettering the situation were already in progress. As early as 1841 the Supreme Pontiff made the Republic of Texas a Vicariate Apostolic[2] and in February of the following year appointed Reverend John Mary Odin Bishop of Claudiopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Texas.[3] Bishop Odin, a member of the Lazarist congregation, previous to his elevation to the hierarchy had made a personal tour inspecting religious conditions in Texas, and therefore possessed full knowledge of its spiritual neglect.

During the first decade of his administration Bishop Odin put forth his greatest efforts in erecting churches and securing priests to minister to the wants of the faithful in his vast territory. He next occupied himself with organizing a Catholic school system. As early as 1845 he had spoken of opening a school in San Antonio, hoping to use the historic Alamo building for this purpose. He planned a day school and felt that a boarding section would naturally develop and be economically possible since provisions and all necessary supplies could be raised on the land of Conception Mission belonging to him.[4] While the need for education was great, the bishop, occupied with other religious matters of a more pressing nature, did not find time to carry out his project at once.

After an interval of several years, during which educational conditions in San Antonio did not improve, the bishop felt that the school could no longer be deferred. If religion were to be fundamentally planted in the faithful, the prelate said it would be necessary to build from the bottom up. He wrote: "A good school alone will be able to regenerate" the people since the city is "swarming with children plunged in the depths of ignorance."[5]

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[2] Abbé Bony, *Vie de Mgr. Jean-Marie Odin, Missionaire Lazariste, Archevêque de La Nouvelle-Orleans,* Paris, 1896, 138. On October 24, 1839, Galveston was proclaimed a Prefecture Apostolic with jurisdiction over all of Texas; it was elevated to a Vicariate Apostolic July 16, 1841, and created a Diocese May 4, 1847. The Diocese of San Antonio was formed and separated from that of Galveston August 28, 1874, and raised to an Archdiocese August 3, 1926. Paul P. Ciangetti, "A Diocesan Chronology of the Catholic Church in the United States," *The Catholic Historical Review,* XXVIII (March 1942), 63, 69.

[3] Sister Mary Benignus Sheridan, C. C. V. I., *Bishop Odin and the New Era of the Catholic Church in Texas, 1840-1860*. Doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University, 1937, 135.

[4] Odin to Timon, August 2, 1845, quoted in Sheridan, *Odin,* 281-282.

Bishop Odin wanted religious communities in his diocese; he could think of no more logical place to secure them than France, the land of his birth, which had already generously responded to his pleas for priests. Setting out for his homeland in 1851, Bishop Odin went about making inquiries for teachers to manage his proposed school in San Antonio. In December, at Montauban, he learned of the excellent work being carried on by a teaching order of men known as the Society of Mary. M. l'abbé Chevalier of Auch highly recommended the professors of this organization for their capable and progressive education.[6] The Society of Mary, founded in France in 1817, was successfully operating schools in several countries when its work was called to the attention of Bishop Odin.

Impressed by what he had learned, the bishop journeyed to Bordeaux, where he laid his case before the superior general of the Congregation, George Joseph Caillet. Even though his request was modest—only four brothers to start the school—the superior general saw no way to assist the bishop since the demand for teachers in his own land was greater than could be met conveniently; the case had additional difficulties, because the men wanted by the bishop had to be ready to teach English, Spanish, German, and French.[7] Then, too, experienced teachers were desirable as a new foundation called for the best men.[8] Prudence prompted the superior general to refuse the request.

But the bishop would not be denied. He needed help and was determined to get it. He applied a second time, and the superior of the Society, impressed by the worthiness of the cause and the earnestness of the prelate, introduced the bishop to his council and permitted him to renew his request. Convinced that it should not refuse the second overture, the council agreed to help.[9] Three brothers, and even a fourth if possible, were to be sent to San

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[5] Odin to Verdet, August 13, 1852, quoted in Sheridan, *Odin,* 279.

[6] M. l'abbé Chevalier to George J. Caillet, December 8, 1851, correspondence relating to Texas, Society of Mary Archives, Nivelles, Belgium. Transcript copies of this correspondence can be found in the Provincial Motherhouse, Maryhurst Normal, Kirkwood, Missouri. Hereafter this collection of documents will be cited T. C.

[7] Odin to Caillet, March 1, 1852, T. C.

[8] Elegius Beyrer, MS., Provincial Archives, Society of Mary, Kirkwood, Missouri.

[9] John E. Garvin, S. M., *The Centenary of the Society of Mary,* Dayton, 1917, 190.

Antonio to conduct the proposed school; the terms of the agreement provided that the bishop would assume all financial obligations connected with the new establishment until it became self-supporting.[10]

As finally arranged four men were to be sent to the new mission. Three of these, John Baptist Laignoux, Nicholas Koenig, and Xavier Mauclerc, were to come from France; Mauclerc, a seminarian, was to complete his studies after arriving in Galveston, Texas, and be ordained to the priesthood there. With a priest as member of the new community, the beginnings would be more complete, as the Society of Mary wanted priests and Brothers to work in common and share the same community life on terms of equality. The fourth member of the community, the man who was to direct its destinies, was Brother Andrew Edel, serving at the time as professor at one of the Society's establishments in Dayton, Ohio.[11]

Pleased at the cooperation he received and eager to conclude the final arrangements for the safe conduct of the new laborers to his diocese, Bishop Odin secured passage for the Brothers on the *Belle Assise,* which sailed from Havre toward the end of March 1852.[12] Elsewhere the bishop had spent his time securing missionaries to the best advantage, for on the same boat that brought the professors who were to open a school in San Antonio, he had gathered six Oblate Fathers, a lay Brother, four Sisters of the Incarnate Word and of the Blessed Sacrament, two Ursuline nuns and eighteen seminarians, all destined to work in various parts of his diocese.[13] Hence with a great deal of satisfaction he could look back on the results of his European trip of recruitment and forward to a school system in his diocese, the realization of his dream of years.

While the three French Brothers were sailing westward and occupying their time and talents struggling with fundamentals of an unknown language, their future director, Andrew Edel, in far-off Dayton, Ohio, received notice of his selection to head the new undertaking in San Antonio. Brother Edel was chosen for the work at hand not so much because he was noted among his confreres as a school executive, but rather because of his "availability." At St. Mary's Institute in Dayton Brother Edel held the title of professor of botany, agriculture, and horticulture, but it had become evident that the average midwesterner had no intention of sending his children to school to learn an occupation which would well be learned in a practical and productive way elsewhere, and Brother Edel had found himself a professor without pupils when the school term opened. Therefore, he could be spared for the work in San Antonio. Furthermore, having just rounded out twenty-five years' service in religious life, he possessed a certain broad background that would undoubtedly be necessary at the new establishment; he knew the English language and the ways of the Americans; but more important than all these qualifications in the eyes of the superiors who made the selection was the fact that he was a solid religious, possessing piety and a deep sense of duty.

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[10] Official Contract, T. C. John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* New York, 1892, 290, gives passing mention to the beginnings of Catholic education in San Antonio under Bishop Odin, but erroneously refers to the Society of Mary as the Brothers of the Christion Schools.

[11] An American province of the Society had been begun in 1849, in Dayton, Ohio, at the request of Father Wenninger, S. J., and three schools were in operation before the Texas undertaking was begun. Garvin, 63, *et passim.*

[12] Odin to Caillet, March 12, 1852, T. C.

[13] Sheridan, *Odin,* 243, 256, 257.

Brother Edel's instructions were to proceed at once to Galveston and report to the bishop's residence where he would meet his fellow laborers coming from France. Other than being told that the responsibilities of conducting the new establishment would be in his hands and the names of his three helpers, he was given no hint concerning the undertaking.[14]

Traveling down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans on the first leg of his journey to Texas, Brother Edel had a pleasant enough time observing new forms of plant life and enjoying the expansive scenery. In New Orleans one of his fellow travelers showed him a newspaper announcement of the arrival of Bishop Odin's missionaries in that city on May 12, 1852. Supposing his own confreres to be in the party, Edel went to the archbishop's hostelry, where an unplanned meeting of the members of the new community took place.[15] The happy group exchanged news concerning old mutual friends and talked about their future work.

Setting out on Sunday, May 16, the Brothers traveled on to Galveston where they arrived two days later and placed themselves under the paternal care of Very Reverend Chambodut, the Vicar General, who established them in the Episcopal Residence, a building consisting of "two parts made of board planks."[16] Here they settled down seriously to prepare themselves for their teaching career. Mauclerc was engaged in ecclesiastical studies and the Brothers practiced the fundamentals of the English language. After about two months of preparation, the group set out for San Antonio, going by water to the old port of Indianola, thence by stage coach to San Antonio. They arrived in July 1852.[17]

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[14] Caillet to Edel, March 16, 1852, T. C.
[15] Edel to Caillet, Ascension Day, 1852, T. C.

Taking up lodgings temporarily at the "Priest's House," where the pastor, Father Claude Mary Dubuis, resided, the Brothers arranged the school and its program. To get classes under way for the fall term, they were forced to convert an old shop on the southwest corner of Military Plaza into a schoolhouse.[18] Brother Laignoux knew Spanish well enough to teach the Mexican classes. Koenig had been working diligently to learn English and was willing to risk teaching the lower sections. The higher classes were to be conducted by a layman named O'Neill.[19] Thinking themselves ready, the Brothers opened the school on August 25, 1852, registering twelve pupils.[20] The reputation of the school traveled fast, and by the end of the first month eighteen more students had enrolled, making a total of thirty. From then on all were kept busy. Each month brought additional students, so that when the school year was half over there were one hundred pupils enrolled.[21]

The improvised schoolhouse in which the Brothers first started their labors was never intended to do more than tide them over until permanent quarters could be put up. Odin started raising funds for a new building as soon as the Brothers arrived; and Edel with the help of John Twohig, lifelong friend and benefactor of the Brothers, selected the location. They chose a plot of land on the east side (left bank) of the San Antonio

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[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Mauclerc to Chevaux, September 11, 1852, T. C. Mauclerc remained in Galveston for a short while after the Brothers went to San Antonio and joined them only after his ordination; he was ordained by Bishop Odin on July 16, 1852, with the understanding that no other faculties be accorded him except that of offering the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, as he was not sufficiently instructed in theology to administer the sacraments; Odin to the Bishop of Cincinnati, June 8, 1852, Galveston Chancery Archives. Photostatic copies of these Archives can be obtained at St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas. Hereafter they will be cited G. C. A.

[18] Beyrer, MS., 3.

[19] Mauclerc to Chevaux, September 11, 1852, T. C.

[20] Odin to (?), August 25, 1852, Lazarist Archives of Paris, France. Photostatic copy in Catholic Archives of America, Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana. Hereafter referred to as C. A. A.

[21] Edel to Caillet, March 18, 1853, T. C.

River, fronting on what is now College Street,[22] the present site of the downtown school of St. Mary's University. Construction work was started in the fall of 1852, and since it was important to have it finished as soon as possible, Brother Edel paid scant attention to appearances, with the result that the structure resembled a rectangular box. It was two stories high, about 60 feet long and 25 feet wide, with two rooms for classes on the ground floor and two rooms above for living quarters for the faculty and boarders.[23] After ninety years of changes this original two-story building still forms part of the St. Mary's University downtown school.

The doors of the new place were opened on the first of March, 1853, although the necessary furniture was still lacking.[24] A more serious inconvenience, even a hindrance to future development, was the fact that the school was located across the river from the principal settlement. Students had either to make a great detour to come to classes, or to cross the stream in a small rowboat, a process involving them in occasional accidents. While unorthodox crossing of the stream may have delighted the boys and occasioned merriment, it was a source of worry to the teachers, and they seriously discussed the need of purchasing a ferry boat.[25] Before long, however, a bridge was built and the need for a round-about trip obviated.

Soon the original building no longer sufficed, as increased enrollment crowded the quarters. Additions had to be made, and Edel, whose first architectural effort had been the box-like structure known as St. Mary's Institute, drew up the plans. Although Father Dubuis, representing Odin, had his own ideas on construction, he left the matter in Edel's hands.[26] Hoping to improve the existing structure, Edel now variously extended the building adding to one side, to the front, the rear, and the height. In front a section was added to serve as parlor and lodge; on the west side a storeroom and infirmary were attached; and to the south rear, Edel built a private room for himself, which, perched on four solid posts and glass-enclosed, was a sun parlor giving him a lordly view of the playground. It was for years a source of wonder to visitors.[27]

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[22] Edel to Caillet, August 15, 1852, T. C.

[23] *Ibid.;* Beyrer, MS., 3-4.

[24] Edel to Superiors, March 18, 1853, T. C.

[25] Mauclerc to Caillet, April 21, 1853, T. C.; Dubuis to Odin, March 7, 1855, G. C. A.

[26] Dubuis to Odin, (1854?), G. C. A.

[27] Garvin, 110-111.

Bishop Odin had wanted the school to take care of the Mexican children in particular. The Mexican population in 1852, however, was but little responsive to elevating influences, and if the school were to thrive and become more than an obscure mission serving a shifting population, it would have to draw its clientele from the city generally. The Brothers sensed this and insisted from the very beginning that all comers be admitted.[28] They had their way, and children of all nationalities were received. Non-Catholics were also welcome from the very beginning. These remained, always a minority, even to the present, though the Catholic spirit and educational policies of the school have never been altered because of their presence. The superior of the American houses, Father Leo Meyer, residing in Dayton, advised against the practice; but there were conditions in San Antonio which were not well understood in Dayton and his protests went unheeded.[29]

The French residents of San Antonio, immigrants from Henry Castro's colonization venture, learned of the school conducted by teachers from their homeland and became its enthusiastic supporters.[30] In fact, St. Mary's was frequently referred to as the "French School." Quite naturally the teachers were proud of their nationality and frequently capitalized on their French ancestry. Edel thus wrote to the superior general:

> The Americans love the French since the latter aided them in overcoming the British. They enjoy the history of Napoleon and his generals. Kindly send us a good biography of Napoleon, a history of France, and several other works to serve in maintaining and increasing love and esteem for the French.[31]

The varied character of the student body and the limited faculty necessitated a diversified program. The regular school day got under way at 7:30 in the morning and continued until 4:30 in the afternoon. The pupils were divided into four groups or classes, and both English and Spanish were the mediums of communication for the various branches taught. French and German were taught as accomplishments, the former from the impossible hour of 6:00 to 7:30 in the morning and the latter from 4:30 to 5:30 in the evening. This arrangement took care of most of the waking hours, but Edel wrote that the work was by no means limited to definite hours, saying: "the time left us outside of class hours is devoted to the boarders, of whom there are nine."[32]

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[28] *Ibid.,* 191.
[29] *Ibid.,* 194.
[30] Mauclerc to Chevaux, September 11, 1852, T. C.
[31] Edel to Good Father, November 20, 1853, T. C.

One great language difficulty had been solved when the Brothers secured the assistance of Mr. O'Neill who taught the higher classes in English, particularly those students who knew only this language. This young man manifested an attachment to the Society of Mary from the very beginning and actually took the preliminary steps of beginning his novitiate training in preparation for his final entry.[33] Unfortunately, however, after serving with the Brothers for about half a year, he succumbed to a short siege of sickness and died at the beginning of January 1853.[34] The Brothers thereupon secured the services of a Mr. Doyle, and in addition to furnishing his board and laundry paid him a monthly salary of 25 piasters. Since an experienced English-speaking teacher was absolutely necessary to conduct the higher classes, the Brothers continued to employ Mr. Doyle for sometime, meanwhile petitioning headquarters to send help so that the financial outlay he occasioned would not be their undoing.[35]

Financially the school was anything but a success. This was due in part to a scale of tuition charges varying from one to two piasters per month, those who paid two piasters were very few.[36] Four men could hardly be expected to operate a school and support themselves on such meager revenue. To make matters worse the money could not always be collected, and Edel was frequently glad to compromise with his debtors by accepting produce in lieu of cash.[37] It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the bishop had frequently to come to the financial rescue of the school.[38]

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[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Mauclerc to Chevaux, September 11, 1852, T. C.

[34] Edel to Superiors, March 18, 1853, T. C.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Mauclerc to Chevaux, September 11, 1852, T. C. Brother Edel used the term "piaster" to denote either the Spanish or the American dollar, and a certain amount of confusion follows when trying to fix present-day values to the term piaster as he used it.

[37] Thus in September 1857, Edel wrote that he was to call on "a rich Mexican who owes us more than 500 piasters for boarding his children. . . . I was at his home two months ago with one of our friends, and we compromised by accepting 12 fresh cows on account. We shall do the same again, for it is useless to expect money." Edel to Caillet, end of September 1857, T. C. From 1856 to 1859 Edel also came into possession of seven lots of land all located around South Fifth and South Seventh Streets. Available records do not show how these lands were acquired, but it is entirely probable that they were accepted in return for tuition. Cf. Bexar County Court House Records: O 2, p. 261, P 1, p. 606, R 1, pp. 251-252.

Not only was the revenue inadequate and the number of laborers too few, but a domestic difficulty prevented an even distribution of the work. From the very beginning there was a misunderstanding between Brother Edel, the superior of the establishment, and Father Mauclerc, chaplain and teacher. Father Mauclerc, interested primarily in discharging his ecclesiastical functions, even to the exclusion of teaching, was never thoroughly happy in the classroom. He therefore refused to accept his share of the academic work. Really the dispute went deeper: in matters of democracy the Society of Mary was and is constituted somewhat differently from most religious congregations. It was the wish of the founder, Very Reverend William Joseph Chaminade, that the three elements, namely, priests, teaching Brothers, and Brothers engaged in manual labor, share equally in all the work of the Society and share alike in all the privileges and responsibilities. To this end the rules provide that the direction of an establishment may be entrusted to either a Brother or a priest; it was, accordingly, not unusual for a Brother to have sole and complete direction of a community which contained priests as members. The direction of the purely personal conduct of a priest, however, was always to be in conformity with the prescriptions of canon law.

Such was the case in San Antonio where Brother Edel was the superior and Father Mauclerc one of the subjects. And in San Antonio the plan did not operate well, due, however, not to any inherent weakness in the scheme of organization, but rather to a personality clash between Edel and Mauclerc. Father Mauclerc was under the impression that his ecclesiastical state put him in a class apart from the other members of the community and exempted him from Edel's authority; worse still, he wanted to participate in and even dominate the government of the establishment.[39] In asserting his authority Edel may have been tactless and unnecessarily firm at times, but it must be said that the sympathies of the Brothers were with Edel and they refused Mauclerc any direction in the affairs of the community.[40] The disagreement between the two individuals was largely caused by the severe and taciturn character of a man who was called upon to set aside his personal interests in missionary work in favor of the drudgery of the classroom. Undoubtedly he was zealous, if we are to judge from his good work especially among the French and Germans whose languages he knew perfectly. When the dispute over authority between the two men finally reached a climax, Mauclerc solved the problem by withdrawing from the Brothers' dwelling and taking up residence with Dubuis in the "Priest's House," as the rectory was generally known.[41] The Brothers who had been obliged to manage without his services as a teacher now found themselves without a chaplain. Since it was obviously impossible to have Mauclerc stay in the classroom against his wishes to engage in missionary work, he was transferred to Dayton, Ohio.[42]

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[38] See for example: Dubuis to Odin, January 22, 1853, April 10, 1853, December 25, 1853, March 7, 1854, November 29, 1856, March 9, 1857, G. C. A.

[39] Cf. Dubuis to Odin, April 10, 1853, G. C. A.

[40] Dubuis to Odin, March 7, 1853, G. C. A.

The correspondence of the Texas pioneering Brothers is replete with their requests for help of every sort. Not only did they need additional members from the beginning but they lacked means to satisfy practically every one of their human wants. While Mauclerc's contribution as a teacher had never been great, his recall from Texas did create another vacancy and resulted in redoubled requests for additional man power. Before the school year of 1852-1853 was a month under way, Brother Edel wrote:

> It will be necessary to come to our assistance as soon as possible, first by sending us two good working Brothers, one of whom will have to know how to milk cows, make butter and cheese, make bread and work in the garden. . . . The other Brother . . . would bring along all his carpenter's tools; note well, all his tools, for here everything costs three times as much as elsewhere. . . . I forgot to mention that one of these two must know how to cook. . . . Moreover, Monsignor, [Odin] foreseeing that the establishment must expand, would desire ardently that you choose one or two quite capable subjects who could

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[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Mauclerc never withdrew from the Society. He left San Antonio in the early part of June and arrived in Dayton, Ohio, on June 26, 1854; Odin to the Archbishop of Cincinnati, June 8, 1854, Archbishop of Cincinnati to Odin, July 29, 1854, G. C. A.; Damien Litz to Caillet, July 10, 1854, containing postscript of Leo Meyer, Letters of Leo Meyer, Provincial Archives, Maryhurst Normal, Kirkwood, Missouri. Arriving at Dayton, Father Mauclerc was sent to work at some French missions in southwest Ohio. In January 1856, along with Brother Damien Litz, he went to Germantown, Wisconsin, where he labored for several years amongst the Germans and French Canadians, amid great hardships and privations in the wilderness under the direction of Bishop Henni of Milwaukee. Garvin, 139-141. Subsequently Father Mauclerc rendered useful services on various assignments; he died at St. Remy, France, in 1879.

> teach the branches, the matter of a higher school, such as bookkeeping, geometry, algebra, etc. These could come with the others, and Monsignor would keep them at Galveston and would provide teachers for them so that they could learn English and Spanish. It would be necessary for the latter to bring books along with them: three Spanish dictionaries, i. e., Spanish-French, French-Spanish, and one all Spanish; two copies of each; then several dozen Arithmetics in Spanish for first and second grades; grammars and books for Spanish composition, and some books for reading; all this in Spanish. . . .
>
> These good Brothers could also provide themselves with some other merchandise, such as some reams of paper which is very dear here; some gross of steel pens; some pen-knives and some pocket-knives; a violin, a gold ring for Brother Koenig who lost his; a pair of scissors to cut hair; sheets of prayer-card and some rosaries. . . . These are our pressing needs which will . . . increase constantly; do not abandon us.[43]

Edel explained that he expected help by the middle of the following February at the latest, and hurried to add that after the school at San Antonio was once put on solid foundations the bishop promised establishments in nearby towns.[44] Help was promised, but there were no tangible fulfillments by the following spring, and, worse still, the Mauclerc difficulty was not clearing up, so Edel again wrote:

> If this letter arrives before you send the Brother promised us, do not send him alone. Let him be accompanied by a priest and a good cook. The Brother in question will fit well, if, as you say, he has facility in learning languages, if he can play violin, piano, or organ, and if he has some knowledge of drawing, geometry, algebra, and bookkeeping. . . .
>
> Have the musician bring along two violins and all that is necessary to complete both outfits. . . . As to the cook, he should be skillful, tidy, serviceable, economical.
>
> All subjects sent to Texas must be satisfied with corn-bread three times a day, very rarely baker's bread; content to eat meat half fried; to drink black coffee, and, instead of wine, river water; in one word, to be in need of many things that are in abundance in France.[45]

Edel waited for some months before repeating his plea:

> Send us at once two or three new members: a priest, as soon as possible, who knows German and French and who would be quick to learn English and Spanish. Such a one would be very useful to us.

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[43] Edel to Caillet, September 25, 1852, T. C.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Edel to Caillet, April 15, 1853, T. C.

> Then a good professor of mathematics, having . . . a knowledge of drawing and music (at least the violin); also a good and skillful cook. These Brothers should not burden themselves with much clothing and linen, but instead, bring along English as well as Spanish books, small histories, small Mass-prayer books in French to be awarded as prizes to our little Americans who are studying French; readers, sheets of holy pictures, some small engravings, rosaries, crucifixes, medals, several gross of good steel pens, some short treatises on mathematics, a few boxes of colors, some drawing models both linear and free hand, and some black and colored drawing pencils. The professor of music should bring with him his violin and one other for his pupils, some music, several Latin motets, etc. But above all, may they bring with them the true spirit of their state of life, the spirit of self-renouncement comprehended by so few and which I do not always possess myself.[46]

When help was not forthcoming, Edel wrote that he was surprised to find out that "those whom we expected to arrive here by the middle of December, are still living quietly on the other side of the great lake." He categorically restated his request:

> Therefore cause us the pleasure by sending us a letter as soon as possible informing us of the departure of the Texas colony composed of: 1. A priest, if this be possible; 2. A mathematician who is at the same time a grammarian and sufficiently a musician to play the violin or the piano, and who knows also something of drawing; 3. A good cook who can also do some sewing; 4. A gardener who, if possible, knows a little carpentry. . . .[47]

In order to leave no possible pretext for further delay, Edel added that the prospective helpers should "not amuse themselves studying English and Spanish in France. They can learn ten times as fast and better here among the Americans and Mexicans."[48] Shorthanded themselves, however, the General Superiors in Europe could not give the reinforcements; though Edel continued to send letters of petition, going into the minutest detail concerning the desirable qualifications of the men needed. It took another year of pleading before assistance was forthcoming, and it was a year during which Edel became increasingly insistent:

> Would it have been impossible to find two additional men, a pro-

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[46] Edel to Chevaux, August 21, 1853, T. C.
[47] Edel to Caillet, November 21, 1853, T. C.
[48] *Ibid.*

> fessor and a working Brother, whom we needed so much? What must our Bishop think who has made such generous efforts to establish this house and which has had such a fine beginning? . . . You have helped Ohio, then help also Texas.[49]

And again,

> We cry out from these far-off regions: 'Brothers of France, come; come at least two; but come; come at once. We see St. Remy swarming with men and we are alone here. Oh, depart then. If you but know how hard the time will be until you are here with us! A teacher and a working Brother; yes, come; we are expecting you since so long. The need is so great; the children are so ignorant, come!'[50]

As the school year of 1853-1854 drew to a close, Odin interested himself directly in the problem of getting assistants for the school. He forwarded 1,000 francs to finance the voyage of two Brothers to San Antonio.[51] Edel wanted at least three men by this time, a reasonable number, considering that there were over one hundred day students and thirty-five boarders in regular attendance, that Koenig was not in good health,[52] and that the small contribution of Mauclerc was withdrawn. He secured only two, however. These came on Christmas Eve, 1854. They were two Brothers who were to devote faithfully the remainder of their long lives to Texas, Brother Charles Francis and Brother Eligius Beyrer. Beyrer, ordained priest in 1867, labored in San Antonio forty years, and Charles Francis had a glorious record of fifty-four years.[53]

Brother Charles Francis, professed only six years, was still a young man when he arrived in San Antonio; but fortunately for St. Mary's College and for the city of San Antonio, he was destined never to leave the city again. It might be said that he grew up with the College and the city; his life was associated with the history of St. Mary's from its small beginnings until it expanded into San Fernando's separate school for Mexicans, and into the grand structure in the western suburbs, known as St. Louis College, serving at present as the administration building on St. Mary's University campus. Charles Francis was likewise associated with every progressive step the city of San Antonio made; he saw it develop from a frontier village of a few thousand inhabitants to the proud position of the metropolis of Texas with a population approximating one hundred thousand.[54]

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[49] Edel to Caillet, February 15, 1854, T. C.
[50] Edel to Clouset, February 15, 1854, T. C.
[51] Odin to Chevaux, May 7, 1854, T. C.
[52] Edel to Caillet, November 27, 1854, T. C.
[53] Garvin, 111.

Edel, who was by nature gentle and timid, at once began to depend on the vigorous and determined personality of Charles Francis and found in him an aid and comfort in all things; this newcomer became an inspiration for the school now weathering its first trials and ready to branch forth into fuller growth.

With the arrival of the two French helpers, the question of man power was only partially solved. There still remained the problem of getting working Brothers to do the necessary manual labor. Working Brothers were particularly needed after Edel's long cherished plans for securing property for a farm had been realized, that is, after he acquired the old Conception Mission property, concerning which more will be said directly. In response to his requests, two manual laborers were now sent from Europe: Lawrence Weber, a cook, and Magnus Bauer, who became janitor and took charge of the refectory and wardrobe.[55] Although there remained a shortage, it was possible, by reassigning the duties of some of the men, to manage both the school and the farm.

When the student body increased the following year Edel turned to pleading anew. His letters in 1857 and 1858 were much like those of five years earlier. Matters were made worse when two of his teachers were transferred to Dayton, Ohio, by orders of Father Leo Meyer, who was the superior of all the Brothers in America. Meyer was chronically out of sympathy with the undertaking in San Antonio; his lack of understanding undoubtedly was due principally to misinformation about the true nature of the undertaking and lack of first-hand knowledge such as could be had only from visiting the scene. His unsympathetic attitude reached the point where he advised the suppression of the school and removal of the Brothers from Texas.[56] Under these trying conditions he recalled Brothers Laignoux and Koenig without sending replacements. Fortunately for the future of St. Mary's, his recommendation to close the establishment was not heeded.

Shortly before the Civil War additional workers did arrive to help manage the school, which had continued its growth. Edel by this time, either because he was told no further help could be had from Europe or because his experience indicated further efforts to secure men from abroad would be useless, insisted with European superiors, that Father Meyer be given orders to send some experienced men from Dayton. This, he argued, was no more than right, since a substitute had never been sent to replace Koenig.[57] He wanted a working Brother and a teacher and suggested the names of Brother Damien Litz and several of his friends in Dayton as being likely candidates. And in order to expedite matters he forwarded 120 piasters to serve as traveling money, thus leaving Father Meyer no valid pretext for refusing the men.[58]

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[54] *Ibid.*, 156-157.

[55] Reinbolt Report, March 1, 1866, T. C.

[56] Odin to Caillet, December 30, 1858, citing Meyer to Odin, June 12, 1858, T. C.

But Meyer was not to be rushed. He sent, with "extreme regret" Nicholas Bohn, and applied the balance of the money Edel had sent to his "book account" in Dayton.[59] Bohn had entered the Society in Dayton in 1850 and had been engaged there as a working Brother, he was sent to Texas as such. However, Edel, having a greater need for a teacher than for a manual laborer, decided to use him in the classroom—thus were teachers then made—and gave him charge of some of the younger students. Bohn at once took a liking to the Mexican children and became a most successful teacher, before long handling the largest class in the school.[60]

By January 1860 the enrollment had gone beyond 200, and additional help could no longer be refused by Meyer. During the summer months he sent Paul Kraus as teacher.[61] When the War broke out additional help from either Dayton or France was out of the question, and the community and school had to struggle along for the next five years without reinforcements.

In the course of the Civil War the faculty of St. Mary's was loyal to the Southern cause. Edel, acting against the possibility that the General Superiors in France might be unfavorably influenced by reports from the North, did his bit to offset any such reports when he wrote: "Do not impute this distress as a crime of the South, though the black Republicans would have it so. Do not believe what these latter say, for they are hypocrites and liars. Long life to the Southern Confederacy!"[62] The period was a trying one on the community as no regular correspondence could be maintained with either Dayton or Europe. In fact no news whatsoever was received from the General Administration in France for fully four years,[63] even though efforts were made to get mail through by having it addressed to friends in Matamoros, Mexico. Such letters as were sent abroad arrived only because they were carried in person by friends of the school who happened to be journeying to France.[64]

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[57] Edel to Caillet, October 13, 1859, T. C.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] Edel to Caillet, January 5, 1860, T. C.

[60] *Apostle of Mary,* V, 116, 117; cf. Charles Francis to the Provincial, July 10, 1865, T. C.

[61] Edel to Caillet, September 3, 1860, T. C.

[62] Edel to the General Administration, November 7, 1864, T. C.

The school itself did not suffer greatly during the war despite the fact that occasionally some of the older boys joined the service and left the classroom for the front.[65] True, the ordinary inconveniences of war were present, and at times severe, and as the war continued there was a shortage of books, paper, and school equipment;[66] but the enrollment actually increased considerably and when the war was over there were 315 pupils enrolled, including 33 boarders.[67] Additional instructors were hired to handle the programs; a particularly fortunate acquisition was that of Theodore Gentilz, artist. Mr. Gentilz, whose beautiful miniature paintings of the customs of the various national groups in San Antonio sell at a premium today, was given a permanent appointment as teacher of art, a position he held for approximately thirty years.[68]

Had it been possible to secure teachers during the war years, schools could have been opened in Houston[69] and Corpus Christi.[70] The pastor at Corpus Christi was particularly eager to have the Brothers start a school, even suggesting a site for it. Edel, as was the case whenever an opportunity to secure additional lands was at hand, became enthusiastic and asked for permission to make the purchase.[71]

That the school should expand, that other sustaining properties should be acquired, particularly farm lands, had always been Edel's cherished hope. The bishop had originally financed not only the trip of the Brothers to Texas, but had borne the whole financial burden of erecting and providing for the school.

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[63] *Ibid.*

[64] *Ibid.;* cf. also Edel to Caillet, June 9, 1864, T. C.

[65] Garvin, 193.

[66] Beyrer to Caillet, April 1865, T. C.

[67] Charles Francis to Reinbolt, June 12, 1865, T. C.

[68] P. F. Parisot and C. J. Smith, *History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of San Antonio,* San Antonio, 1897, 137.

[69] Edel to Caillet, June 9, 1864, T. C.

[70] Edel to Caillet, December 27, 1864, T. C. There were also unsuccessful negotiations for opening a school in Louisiana in 1867. Cf. Edel to Odin, December 11, 1867, G. C. A.

[71] Edel to Caillet, December 27, 1864, T. C.

It was his intention to turn the entire undertaking over to the Brothers as soon as it should become self-supporting, after which the Brothers should provide for its upkeep.[72] Since tuition fees were small, the Brothers could manage much easier if they acquired farms on which produce of all kinds could be raised to help sustain the college.[73] Odin urged buying such land, and on his suggestion Edel conditionally bought the ninety-acre plot comprising the property of Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña situated about two and a half miles south of the city. Edel acquired it with the understanding that the General Administration consent to the bargain. He explained that he had entered into the transaction because the bishop expected payment on the capital and interest to be made only when the Brothers felt they were able to pay. The annual interest amounted to 125 piasters, and Father Dubuis contributed the first 100 piasters to defray the initial expenses of the purchase.[74]

Edel never got consent to ratify the agreement and the correspondence is silent on the fate of the transaction. However the Brothers did take possession of the mission grounds some time before the end of February 1855,[75] and occupied it and worked it, very probably continuously,[76] before coming into actual ownership in 1859.

When the bishop paid the bills connected with the opening of the school and provided for the temporal needs of the Brothers he was fulfilling faithfully the terms of the contract made with the Society of Mary in 1852, although he certainly spent much more money than was originally anticipated. The contract provided, it will be remembered, that Odin would turn over to the Brothers the management of the school as well as the school property as soon as the institution could maintain itself by tuition fees. After the school was once in operation, however, and after it became evident that a group of inexperienced foreigners did not exactly make the cleverest financiers in San Antonio, the bishop postponed the actual transfer from year to year.

When in 1858 and 1859 Father Meyer became dissatisfied with conditions in Texas, he informed the bishop of his intent to close the school and recall the Brothers to Dayton. This news disturbed the bishop considerably and induced him to take preventive action. To the superior general he insisted by letter that if the San Antonio undertaking was strengthened it would undoubtedly become one of the best institutions of the Society. He then stated that the time had arrived for the Brothers to take over completely the management of the school; he proposed to arrange the matter of proper titles to property with Father Meyer. He intended, he said, to give the Brothers "as a gift" the entire property of Mission Concepción, on which "if the soil be well cultivated, more corn and vegetables could be raised than a large community could consume." Bishop Odin suggested giving Brother Edel charge of the Mission and farm so that he could establish there some type of manual training school at which the orphans of the surrounding country could be educated and cared for. This would of course necessitate the appointment of another superior for the city school, but Edel whose "considerable skill in agriculture" would make him invaluable at the new establishment should by all means be put in charge.[77] Undoubtedly the bishop was eager to complete the transfer of properties at this time so as to end once and for all any idea of withdrawing the Brothers and bringing to a sudden close his labors of years, as well as his plans for the future.

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[72] Cf. Official Contract, December 16, 1851, T. C.

[73] Edel to Caillet, November 27, 1854, T. C.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] Dubuis to Odin, February 23, 1855, G. C. A.

[76] Cf. for example: Edel to Caillet, End of September 1857, December 28, 1858, T. C. The school and mission properties both bordered on the San Antonio River and Edel made regular trips by boat to the Mission to get the vegetables and farm products served at the dining tables of the boarders and Brothers.

As finally drawn up on September 8, 1859, a contract was made between Most Reverend John M. Odin and Brother Andrew M. Edel, and their heirs and successors forever, providing first, that the Brothers of Mary obligate themselves to keep forever in the city of San Antonio and on the premises then occupied, a school for the instruction of youth. Secondly, that the bishop on his part transfer and convey to the Brothers the schoolhouse, dependencies, and land, occupied as St. Mary's School, and also the mission buildings and land (about a 90-acre tract) of Mission Concepción, with the provision that the Brothers could not in any way alienate or burden the properties. The land was to be theirs in perpetuity provided that they continued to maintain the school.[78]

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[77] Odin to Caillet, December 30, 1858, T. C.

[78] Contract signed by J. M. Odin and A. M. Edel, and witnessed by Michael Sheehan and Andrew Drurges. Copy found in T. C. The Brothers lived at the Mission, taking care of it until 1869. In December of that year it was leased to Joseph Keller, who took possession January 1, 1870. Subsequently Messr. Koenig, Ross, Brackenridge, Hack, and Haechten held in turn leases on the property. In 1911, at the request of Bishop Shaw, the

After obtaining a clear title to the Mission Concepción property, the Brothers set about restoring the church and improving the land. When all was in readiness, this ancient structure, which had served the Indians during the mission era, and which had been entirely abandoned as a religious institution for probably well over half a century, was again blessed and opened as a place of worship. Brother Edel thus described the event:

> On Tuesday, May 28, [1861] early in the morning, we left in procession with banners and flags, and the statue of the Blessed Virgin richly ornamented, carried by our students who were decorated with silk red and light-blue sashes tipped with gold tassels. All of our students were in the procession; also a large number of little girls dressed in white, many parents, and a crowd of people. Father Amandus celebrated Mass, and Msgr. Madrid preached, as did also Fathers Fauve and Amandus. Our students sang during Mass. We spent the entire day at the Mission and before leaving sang several hymns in honor of the Blessed Virgin. At noon, we furnished refreshments to all the school children and to others who so desired. Brother Lawrence had baked about a thousand cakes and peach pies. Everything was eaten. It was a day of joy and pleasure for all. Father Faure intends to say Mass there from time to time on Thursdays. We will probably go there next Thursday with the students.[79]

The mission property was always first and foremost a farm, the revenue of which was to help maintain the school. However, for a short period there was an organized postulate and novitiate at the Mission for the training of candidates to the Society of Mary.[80] The postulate was ceremoniously opened on August

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Society of Mary relinquished its right to a perpetual lease to the Mission and surrounding property to the diocese so that the bishop could erect an orphanage and seminary on the grounds. The Society in return received a clear and unencumbered title, instead of the perpetual lease it previously had, to its downtown school property. Contract between the Society of Mary and Bishop Shaw, Provincial Archives, Society of Mary, Kirkwood, Missouri. However, not all the property owned by the Brothers at the Mission Concepción was obtained from Bishop Odin. Thus Edel, on May 24, 1858, bought five acres at the Mission from François J. Huber for $100 and in return sold an acre of the land he controlled to Mr. Huber—this was done in order to round out the mission lands. Bexar County Court House Record, P 2, pp. 635-636, #724, #725. Similarly on April 9, 1860, Edel bought for $100 a plot 40 by 80 varas, adjoining his holdings at the Mission, from the Chavez family. Bexar County Court House Record, S 1, p. 264, #347.

[79] Edel to Odin, June 9, 1861, C. A. A.

[80] During the nineteenth century the training of candidates for religious orders was not always methodically directed, particularly in pioneering sections, and occasionally the whole procedure was somewhat irregular; at any rate such was the case in San Antonio throughout the 1850's and 1860's when several candidates were admitted to the Society after satisfying only the essentials of canon law. Thus in 1852, Mr. O'Neill was classified as a novice while actually living in community and carrying on the work of a

15, 1864, the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, when ten young men were admitted as candidates. On the following March 19, feast of St. Joseph, five more were admitted. Brother Paul Kraus, himself a candidate for the priesthood, was put in charge of training the postulants.[81] The novitiate was not so large nor well organized, and it is not always possible from the correspondence to tell exactly who was a novice, nor how many novices there were.[82] The whole project for training candidates was begun prematurely and had a short existence. For one thing a serious inconvenience was caused by the fact that no resident priest was living at the Mission,[83] and until the Society could put one of its own priests at the disposal of the candidates, the house of training could never be considered complete. Then, too, the choice of Paul Kraus as director was not the best as a more experienced and kindly disposed man was needed.[84] The Brothers in San Antonio themselves doubted the wisdom of beginning the novitiate and inquired of the General Administration in Europe concerning its suppression.[85] In 1866 the house of formation was closed, and the remaining candidates were sent to the Provincial motherhouse in Dayton, Ohio, where they were to complete their studies; plans called for sending them back to San Antonio as the place of their labors.[86]

During the Civil War not only was San Antonio completely cut off from communications with the northern section of the Society at Dayton, but it was quite impossible to keep up accustomed communication with general headquarters in Europe. Since the Brothers and the bishop had been begging more help for school and farm,[87] and since, furthermore, many important questions had to be decided, the Brothers urged Edel to make a trip to Europe in person to advance the interests of the school.[88]

In the early part of May 1865, shortly after hostilities be-

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professed member. Similarly, Joseph Loetscher entered the Society in San Antonio in 1852, and was professed the following year. Hyacinth Wolny entered at San Antonio in 1855, and along with Loetscher labored principally at the Mission. And John Moore entered in 1860, taking his first vows the following year, and his final vows in 1864. Cf. Reinbolt Report, March 1, 1866, T. C. Cf. also Koenig to Caillet, October 19, 1853, and Edel to Odin, August 7, 1861, T. C.

[81] Kraus to Caillet, May 10, 1865, T. C.

[82] Charles Francis to Caillet, December 28, 1864, T. C.

[83] Charles Francis to Reinbolt, July 10, 1865, T. C.

[84] Edel to Good Father, n. d. (before May 12,) 1865, T. C.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] Reinbolt Report, March 1, 1866, T. C.

[87] Edel to Caillet, June 9, 1864, T. C.

[88] Edel to Caillet, December 27, 1864, T. C.

tween the States had ceased, Edel turned the direction of the school over to the capable Charles Francis and set out for France. He took with him seventeen propositions and questions calling for action. Heading the list was his own request to be relieved of the duties of superior. Other important matters concerned the future of the novitiate; the great need for a priest of the Society in San Antonio; establishing a separate day school; opening a school in Corpus Christi; taking charge of an orphanage at the Mission; the possibility of forming a separate province in Texas since the distance to Dayton was too great to administer affairs efficiently; the disposition of various odd lots of land taken in as tuition payment; certain personnel changes, and above all the need for help.[89]

Traveling to Dayton, Ohio, Edel called on Father Reinbolt, the newly appointed provincial, and discussed many Texas problems. Arriving in Paris, France, Edel conferred at length with the superior general and received decisions on various important matters; however, on the all-important question of getting additional help, he got a negative answer and was told that he would have to depend on the provincial motherhouse in Dayton for his reinforcements.

Although Edel had every reason to be pleased with some of the resulting adjustments and permissions, nevertheless it was a sad man who returned to San Antonio on October 15, 1865. Without a larger faculty the school could not continue to operate; in fact some of the members suggested that it be abandoned. Bishop Dubuis, elevated to the episcopacy in 1861 when Bishop Odin was sent to New Orleans, was of the opinion that without additional members the institution could no longer function; he asked, however, that final heroic efforts be made to get help from the motherhouse. Edel did more; he insisted that the provincial, Father Reinbolt, come in person to study the problem at first hand, and asked him to come with reinforcements. Without them, Edel said, he need not come at all, as he would "simply embitter the minds of the Brothers and the Bishop."[90]

Basing his judgment on what he had heard concerning the institution in Texas, Father Reinbolt believed that the school should be suppressed, and recommended such action to the General Superiors in the fall of 1865.[91] Nevertheless, urged by Edel and positive orders from France, he journeyed to San Antonio with an open mind for an extended inspection in February 1866. Paying his respects to the bishop, meeting each of the Brothers individually, visiting the classes frequently, holding round-table faculty discussions concerning the school, and making a thorough first-hand, detailed, twelve-day study of conditions in San Antonio, Reinbolt came to the conclusion that his previous idea of suppressing the establishment "certainly showed an absence of due reflection. . . . Our establishment of San Antonio, [he wrote] having been founded on the cross amid many tribulations by the saintly Bishop Odin and our Brothers, is solidly built."[92]

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[89] Edel to Good Father, n. d. [before May 12,] 1865, T. C.
[90] Edel to Reinbolt, October 11, 1865, November 18, 1865, T. C.
[91] Reinbolt Report, March 1, 1866, T. C.

Personal observations not only changed Reinbolt's previous ideas, but induced him to champion the interests of the school, even made him paternalistic toward it. Several important reforms resulted from the round-table discussions with the faculty members. The Mission was ordered closed as a postulate and novitiate since it was inadequately staffed and gave little promise of developing into a suitable house of training for candidates; the older aspirants were sent to Dayton, and the younger ones transferred to the city to live with the boarding students of St. Mary's. A separate dining room, giving necessary privacy to the faculty, was provided for. Classrooms were changed. To make teaching more effective, the various national groups were rearranged. As a never-to-be-forgotten favor to the students, the vacation period was extended two weeks, beginning July 15, instead of August 1 as previously, and continuing to the first Monday in September; vacations were to be spent at the Mission. Finally, there was a strengthening of religious discipline particularly in the matter of the costume. Pioneering conditions and the Civil War had made it difficult for the Brothers to secure the prescribed cloth for their religious garb, which had been practically abandoned. Reinbolt found the Brothers "in costumes which resembled but faintly one or the other pieces of clothing worn by the Brothers of Mary." He now decreed that every effort be made to resume the costume. Brother Louis Uhlman, the one recruit Reinbolt had brought along, was "vested according to regulation," and was therefore to "serve as model" for costumes tailored according to rule.[93]

Another significant result of the visit was a change in the administration of the school. Reinbolt observed that "there was but little, if any, direction, whether material, professional, or spiritual" and that the school would benefit by a change of superiors.[94] Other men had made independent observations to the same end, noting in particular that Edel's predilection for gardening induced him to neglect the school in favor of the mission lands.[95] Brother Edel never cared to be an administrator. In fact he had asked several times to be relieved of the duties of director of the institution;[96] however, the superiors had consistently refused, continuing him in office. During his absence in Europe, Charles Francis, acting as superior, had demonstrated his unusual executive ability and was now permanently appointed head of the school. Edel was transferred to the Mission and charged with the cultivation of the mission lands.

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[92] *Ibid.*

[93] *Ibid.*

Living in semiretirement in the long rambling halls and dark recesses of the mission buildings and roaming the shady lands along the San Antonio River, Edel found his delight. In a grove of mulberry trees near the pecan woods that grow in the river bottom lands, he built a little cabin and an oratory for himself where he was free to carry on his private devotions. To Edel the study of mankind was as nothing compared to the study of the earth and its products. He was a hermit by taste, bashful, a very indifferent talker of little imagination. Although he was familiar with French, German, English, and Spanish, he, like a more famous man, could keep silent in all four languages. Nevertheless life at the Mission did have its responsibilities, for as the head of a small community of four Brothers he was expected to provide for and take charge of resident students who spent their summer vacations there.

In 1869 Edel was relieved of all responsibilities and permitted to retire to the motherhouse in Dayton. Here he built another "cabin in the woods" and lived in blissful solitude, indulging his horticultural tastes to their fullest on a wild portion of the farm. He died in Dayton, July 29, 1891, the third of the San Antonio pioneers to go to his eternal reward.[97]

At St. Mary's, meanwhile, Brother Charles Francis had started his long, eventful career as director of the school at the beginning of the fall term of 1866. The prestige of his name, coupled with his forceful leadership, brought increased prosperity to the institution. It must, however, be remembered that in part, at least, progress was made possible by the benefits of the Reinbolt visitation.

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[94] *Ibid.*

[95] Dubuis to Odin, July 10, 1865, C. A. A.; Charles Francis to Reinbolt, July 10, 1865, T. C.

[96] Edel to Chevaux, December 3, 1857; Edel to Caillet, September 8, 1859, T. C.

[97] This short appraisal is from Garvin, 109-115.

The pioneering days were behind when the new director took over. The valuable lessons of small failures were not forgotten by Charles Francis, who now built on the foundations of the preceding fourteen years. He opened a new era for the school. The growing city made new and higher demands in education, and Brother Charles, thoroughly in love with the work of forming youth, more than met the new demands. A prospectus announced the following courses of instruction: "Moral and religious instruction; English and Spanish (with lessons in French and German to such who desire same); mathematics; physics; chemistry; astronomy; bookkeeping; history; geography; penmanship; drawing; vocal and instrumental music." The total expenses for students who accepted board and tuition were $180 a year.[98]

Nothing of importance to progress in education escaped this forceful man. The cares of the growing institution were numerous, but Charles Francis had each and every departmental need at his fingertips. In the daily program of the school the half-hour of Christian Doctrine each morning was given the place of honor; for over twenty years, he, as prefect of the boarders during all their meals, paced the dining room, keeping order and insisting on table etiquette; he created a system of emulation whereby hard-working and deserving students received recognition by having their names inscribed on the magnificent Roll of Honor in the college parlor; evey Monday he read the weekly grades in all classes; and the morning and afternoon recesses in the schoolyard were supervised by him personally, with the entire student body of 300 or 400 pupils kept in reasonable check by his single presence.[99]

Charles Francis was a builder and as the school expanded he erected new structures; overcrowding forced him to separate the Mexicans and give them a special school, and later to separate the boarding department from the day school, providing for the former by erecting St. Louis College, now St. Mary's University, in the outskirts of the city. In those days St. Mary's School, located in the very heart of the city, was by far the largest institution in San Antonio; its new towering building was four stories high and the wonder of southwest Texas. All the important buildings as they stand to this day were erected before there was a railroad within eighty miles of San Antonio. The city was proud of Charles Francis; it benefited by his enterprise, and although some doubted his foresight, time has fully justified his wisdom.

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[98] Copy in T. C.

[99] This short appraisal is from Garvin, 156-167.

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Franquelin, Mapmaker

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The purpose of this sketch is to make better known the name and the work of Franquelin, who in the seventeenth century drew the greatest number of general and sectional maps of North America, of the Mississippi Valley, and of the Great Lakes region. He himself never went farther west than Montreal, as far as positive evidence is concerned. The importance of his work is due to the following facts. He had the map, now lost, made from memory by Jolliet after his epochal journey down the Mississippi; he acted for a time as draughtsman for La Salle, whose map, also lost, he was given to re-draw; and he was Cadillac's draughtsman in 1692-1693. The lost maps of Jolliet and La Salle which Franquelin used are among the most important documents on the discovery and early exploration of the Mississippi Valley, because they gave details which were in journals or letters no longer extant, and they presented this information much more clearly and in more detail than could be done in long memoirs about the newly explored regions; for, as Sir H. G. Fordham has said, maps can save the mind an infinitude of words.

It is not our intention here to analyze in detail each of Franquelin's maps, much less to study with their help the progress of geographical knowledge of North America, nor to ascertain in each case which map he used as a basis, nor to investigate their genesis, or the sources of those which he re-drew. For such a study several hundred pages would barely suffice. In the second part of this article, the most important part in our opinion, we give a list of Franquelin's maps as complete as possible in the present circumstances, commenting briefly on their dates and indicating in general the advance in geographical knowledge which each represents. The first part of the article, wherein Franquelin's career as a mapmaker is briefly sketched, calls special attention to the documentary evidence for the dates of the maps.

Unless otherwise indicated, the maps herein listed were studied from photographs in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions, of which the Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, has a complete set. To check our conclusions anyone may refer to the call-number given here after each map. To make more available the wealth of invaluable material housed in the Ayer Collection, work was begun on a complete list of its manuscript maps, as well as of all photographs, facsimiles or tracings of the same, with brief bibliographical notes on each. Though this extremely important project is now temporarily in abeyance owing to more urgent work, the completed list will contain each call-number assigned to the original map in its European repository. To facilitate reference, therefore, we have retained these original call-numbers in our listing. The originals of these maps are—or should we say were?—all in Paris.

I

THE TRIBULATIONS OF A MAPMAKER

The biographical data on Franquelin, as has been noted by Marcel, are extremely scanty.[1] Ten years after Marcel made this remark, a few more details were added by Joseph-Edmond Roy,[2] and twenty-five years later, a more satisfactory sketch of the mapmaker's life was published by M. Pierre-Georges Roy, until recently archivist of the Province of Quebec.[3] The article by Father Le Jeune referred to in the footnote below is merely a summary of that published by M. P.-G. Roy.[4] In 1938, the present writer published a short sketch in which he used data which had been previously overlooked.[5] In the present paper, the account which we shall follow for the first twenty years of his cartographical work is supplied by Franquelin, in a memoir addressed to Pontchartrain at the beginning of 1694, in which he uses the third person when referring to himself.

Jean-Baptiste Louis Franquelin, son of Guillaume and Catherine Vitas, was born in 1651 or thereabouts[6] at St. Michel de

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[1] Gabriel Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France, Supplément à l'ouvrage de M. Harrisse,* Paris, 1885, 13. He reproduced them in his *Reproductions de Cartes et de Globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle, avec le texte explicatif,* Paris, 1892, text, 74, 77, 92-93. Cf. Henry Harrisse, *Découverte et Évolution Cartographique de Terre-Neuve et des pays circonvoisins,* London and Paris, 1900, 326-327.

[2] Joseph-Edmond Roy, "La cartographie et l'arpentage sous le régime français," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* (BRH), I, 1895, 33-36.

[3] Pierre-Georges Roy, "Un hydrographe du roi à Québec: Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin," in *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XIII, 1919, section 1, 47-57.

[4] Louis Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire Général . . . du Canada,* 2 volumes, Ottawa, [1931], s. v.

[5] Jean Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys,* Chicago, 1938, 29-31.

[6] Cyprien Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes,* 7 volumes, Montreal, 1871-1890, I, 241, gives 1653 as the date of his baptism; M. Roy, *Proceedings,* 47, says that he was born between 1651 and 1653; Franquelin himself in 1681 declared that he was thirty years old.

Villebernin in the Archbishopric of Bourges. Nothing is known of the first twenty years of his life. As he himself records in his memoir, he came to Canada in 1671[7] to engage in trade.

> He was quite successful during the first three years, and has by this time been in the king's service for nineteen years, during twelve of which he spent his own money without receiving any compensation, as he had been led to hope. That is, eight years under M. the Comte de Frontenac and M. Duchesneau, then governor and intendant respectively. . . . Three years under M. de la Barre and M. de Meulles who succeeded the first in 1682. . . . The twelfth year under M. le Marquis de Denonville who replaced M. de la Barre in 1685, . . . and the following year, 1686, he was given a salary of only 400 livres. . . .[8]

In the same passage he says of Frontenac and Duchesneau: "Toward the end of 1674, they received orders from the Court to send plans of various parts of the colony and several maps of the newly discovered countries, and persuaded him to give up his trading and to devote his time to mapmaking, since he was the only one in the colony equipped for this sort of work."

As will be seen, the autobiographical memoir from which we have just quoted was written at the beginning of 1694. The date when Franquelin began his map career was "toward the end of 1674" although he did not receive any salary or bounty of any kind until 1686, twelve years after he began to draw maps for the government. The only difficulty with this text is that he mentions Duchesneau as being in Canada at the end of 1674, whereas the intendant did not arrive at Quebec until September 1675. The error, however, is a slight one, considering that Franquelin wrote this nearly twenty years later, and the rest of the passage is entirely accurate. Eight years is the time between 1674 and the end of Frontenac's first term as governor general of New France, and it is a fact that after his arrival in Canada, Duchesneau commissioned Franquelin to make maps of the colony.

The reason why we stress the date mentioned by him as the beginning of his work as mapmaker is that he is very probably the author of an important map of the Great Lakes and of the Upper Mississippi commonly attributed to Jolliet (*infra,* no. 1). The statement that he was then the only one able to draw maps is a slight exaggeration; for Hugues Randin, Frontenac's engineer, who could and did make maps, was in Canada in 1674. It is true, however, that no one then in New France was as expert a draughtsman as he was.

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[7] M. Roy, *Proceedings,* 47, deduced from the date which appeared on one of Franquelin's map that he arrived in 1673.

[8] Memoire touchant les voyages que Franquelin hydrographe du roy en Canada a fait a Quebec et a Paris . . ., Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 879:294.

Between 1675 and 1678, Franquelin's name does not appear in the official correspondence or in other public documents. The latter year is the date of two of his maps: a sectional map showing the land holdings on the Lower St. Lawrence (*infra,* no. 2), and a general map of North America (*infra,* no. 3), both dedicated to Colbert by Duchesneau. Another map of the Great Lakes (*infra,* no. 4), also made about this time, is neither dated nor signed, but there is little doubt about his authorship of it.

When the census of the colony was taken three years later, in 1681, he was living in the lower town of Quebec with Jean Juchereau de la Ferté, and gave his age as thirty.[9] His output of maps during this year is considerable. He drew one of America, in four parts of the same size, representing the continent between latitudes 27° to 61°, and longitudes 246° to 338°, taking his first meridian from the Azores (*infra,* no. 5). As the second cartouche of the northwest quarter has it, it was made "at Quebec, in New France, September 10, 1681, by Jean Louis Franquelin."

On February 4, 1683, Franquelin married Elizabeth Aubert,[10] widow of Bertrand Chesné or Chesnay, who had died three weeks earlier.[11] From a pecuniary point of view, the marriage was not a fortunate one. By her first husband his bride had eight children, all living, and she was deeply in debt. Until his final departure from New France in 1692, Franquelin was sued by various creditors from whom he had been forced to borrow money. We have quoted his statement that during the first twelve years he received no pay whatever for his cartographical work. He was probably thanked for his artistic maps, but this did not relieve his dreadful poverty. During this time he very likely did not give up trading altogether, for it is difficult to see how he could have supported himself between 1674 and 1683, and later also his wife and her eight children between 1683 and 1686, without some means of earning money.

The first mention of his name in the official dispatches occurs in the year of his marriage. On November 4, 1683, Governor La

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[9] Benjamin Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français,* 8 volumes, Montreal, 1882-1884, V, 55.

[10] Tanguay, I, 241.

[11] *Ibid.,* 124.

Barre, who had replaced Frontenac the preceding year, wrote to Seignelay:

> The news which recently reached me from that quarter [New York] deserves a full explanation. This is the reason for my sending you a special report with this dispatch. This report together with the map of the country will enable you to get a thorough knowledge of everything and give you the means of discussing the matter with His Majesty. The young man who made these maps is one Franquelin, as skilful as any in France, but he is extremely poor. He could do with some little [pecuniary] aid from His Majesty, the salary of a civil engineer, for instance. He is at work on a very accurate map of the country which I shall send you next year in his name. Meanwhile, I shall support him with some small subsidy.[12]

The map spoken of by the governor is not mentioned in the usual lists, and we have not been able to discover it; one can deduce, however, that it was a map of the eastern part of North America. None of Franquelin's work during this year seems to have survived, except two drawings of Quebec; one, a plan of the lower town (*infra,* no. 6), the other, a plan of the fort (*infra,* no. 7). Appended to the first is a memoir of the intendant De Meulles.[13] Franquelin's own memoir tells us that he brought some of his plans and maps to Paris, at the request of La Barre and De Meulles: "By their order he went to the Court in 1683, in order to bring plans and maps that had been asked for. He made this journey at his own expense; it cost him more than 500 *écus* [1,500 livres], and no reimbursement was made to him."[14]

In the previously quoted letter of La Barre, no mention is made of Franquelin's going to France. Since the last ships sailed before November 22,[15] and probably on November 13,[16] the decision to send him to Paris must have been reached suddenly. A memoir of De Meulles is attached to one of the plans brought to the minister, and hence it may have been De Meulles himself who ordered this journey. Among Franquelin's fellow passengers in all probability was one or other of the better known worthies of this period, for three of them sailed to Europe at the beginning of the same month of November 1683: Iberville, who was bringing La Barre's dispatches to France;[17] La Salle, who had been more or less hustled out of Canada by the governor; and Radisson,[18] who was on the point of finally devoting himself to English interests after years of divided allegiance between England and France.

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[12] La Barre to Seignelay, November 4, 1683, in Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* (NYCD), Vol. IX, Albany, 1855, 205.

[13] The memoir is printed in Marcel, *Cartographie,* 11.

[14] Memoire touchant les voyages . . ., BN, Clairambault, 879:294v.

[15] Cf. *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710,* 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, II, 907, 910.

[16] Cf. Jean Delanglez, "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683," in MID-AMERICA, XXII, (October 1940), 305. The latest letter that left Canada for France, that of Bishop Laval to Seignelay, is dated November 13, 1683, Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, *Lettres,* I, 243.

It is at least an interesting coincidence that Franquelin was officially ordered to act as La Salle's draughtsman while in Paris, and during the first half of the year 1684, he was engaged in drawing the only signed map of La Salle's journeys which has come down to us (*infra,* no. 8). As might be expected, the poor mapmaker was completely out of his depth in this milieu. He soon found himself involved in *l'affaire Tonti,* and, what is more to the point here, this led to his being accused of betraying La Salle's confidence by making known the map on which he was working. Franquelin's connection with *l'affaire Tonti* is referred to in the letters which Beaujeu, captain of La Salle's flagship, the *Joly,* wrote to Villermont in 1684. As for the affair itself, it would seem that La Salle took occasion to withhold a sum of money which he had promised to Alphonse Tonti, the brother of Henri, because of some disparaging remarks which Alphonse had made about him.

La Salle's opinion of Franquelin may be gathered from a letter which Beaujeu wrote from Rochefort on this matter:

> Just before receiving your last letter of May 29, I was speaking to M. de la Salle about M. [Alphonse] de Tonti and was telling him what you had written about his draughtsman, Franclin [sic] by name. He answered that if he [Franquelin] had been present when the Sieur de Tonti said what he did, and if he had reported the same, he himself would not have believed it; but Messrs. de la Forest and Barbier were also there, and they assured him that they heard Tonti say the same thing.[19]

Franquelin's supposed betrayal of La Salle's confidence is referred to in the same letter. We have discussed elsewhere what unusual means La Salle employed in order to keep secret the expedition to the Gulf of Mexico. As a matter of fact, the "secret" was so well kept that in March 1684 a gazette published in Holland gave the European reading public full details about the destination and route of this expedition. The author of this article wrote: "the map of the country he visited was kept well concealed."[20] It may not have been known in Holland because it was not printed, and, at the beginning of 1684, there were only a few copies of it. This is the map referred to further down in the letter just quoted:

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[17] Cf. La Barre to Seignelay, November 4, 1683, AC, C 11A, 6:238-239.

[18] Douglas Brymner, ed., *Report on the Canadian Archives, 1895,* Ottawa, 1896, 50.

[19] Beaujeu to Villermont, June 5, 1684, in Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, II, 426-427.

> Apropos of his [La Salle's] map, he said the other day to M. Minet, our engineer, that it was going to be printed in Paris; that M. Tausier, a clerk of M. de Seignelay in charge of the fortifications, must have given it to somebody, and that this would not be to the liking of M. le Marquis [de Seignelay]. I myself see that La Salle's draughtsman is responsible for this. I am asking you, if possible, to get a copy of the map, and you may pay as much as two *pistoles* for it. My nephew will reimburse you; but I must have it before I leave. An outline will be enough.[21]

The surmise of Beaujeu may or may not have been correct. After all, there had not been much secrecy about the expedition, the route, or the map itself. On arriving in France at the end of 1683, La Salle had tried to interest businessmen at Rochefort and La Rochelle, and later at Rouen and Paris, "in a partnership to finance an expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi and a settlement in the Taensa country."[22] And in the following March 1684 La Salle himself had given M. Tronson "a very beautiful map"[23] of the country he had discovered.

At the end of June 1684 Alphonse Tonti arrived at Rochefort. He and La Forest went to La Rochelle to patch up matters with La Salle. Of this meeting Beaujeu says: "They had a long explanation and Franquelin was blamed for everything. The Sieur de la Forest denied that he had ever spoken unfavorably of the Sieur de Tonti," although, added Beaujeu, remembering his former letter, "M. de la Salle had already told me himself that La Forest and Barbier reported to him what the Sieur de Tonti had said."[24] La Salle, however, was not quite convinced by their "explanation." He demanded that Tonti be confronted with Barbier, Franquelin, and a few others, in whose presence Tonti had spoken disparagingly. When Tonti refused to agree to this, La Salle would not permit him to accompany the expedition to the Gulf of Mexico.

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[20] *Some La Salle Journeys*, 85.

[21] Beaujeu to Villermont, June 5, 1684, in Margry, II, 429.

[22] *Some La Salle Journeys*, 81.

[23] Tronson to Belmont, April 15, 1685, printed without date in Margry, II, 355.

[24] Beaujeu to Villermont, June 18 [*i. e.*, 28], 1684, in Margry, II, 437.

From the above it seems that Franquelin was then at La Rochelle or at Rochefort. He must have returned to Canada that same year; at any rate he was given employment by Denonville shortly after the latter's arrival as governor in Quebec, for Denonville wrote to Seignelay as follows:

> I also believe, my Lord, that it would be very useful for the service of the king, if some one here were appointed to teach the first principles of navigation. I think we have some worth while students here, and also a man very capable of teaching the subject. His name is Franquelin, and he is at present engaged in drawing maps. He knows many good things [worth teaching]; he would be very useful if you were kind enough to give him some subsistence; he could teach writing, drawing, navigation, arithmetic. Our Canadians have all the qualities for becoming good pilots provided they be given the means of learning.[25]

The newly arrived governor had very much at heart the mapping of New France. He had hoped to have a map of Hudson Bay made by Pierre Allemand, who had accompanied Claude de la Martinière to the north in 1684, but this pilot had been ill since his return in October 1685. Denonville, however, notified the minister that the map would be made during the coming winter and sent to Paris "at the first opportunity."[26] Another map, that of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the sea, was to have been by the engineer Jean Deshayes,[27] if illness had not prevented him:

> Dying though he was, I took him along with me to Catarok8y [Kingston, Ontario,] and had him draw the course of our river from

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[25] Denonville to Seignelay, November 13, 1685, Archives des Colonies (AC), C 11A, 7:94v. This letter is erroneously dated 1686, in Roy, *Proceedings,* 49, and in Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire,* s. v. Allemand (Pierre). Internal and external evidence show that it was written and sent to Paris in 1685. Cf. fo. 102, where he refers to the recent departure of De Meulles for Acadia; the date on the plan of Fort Frontenac made by Villeneuve, Ministère des Colonies, no. 522, reproduced in Etienne-Michel Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada,* 3 volumes, Villemarie, 1865-1866, II, facing p. 467, etc.

[26] Denonville to Seignelay, November 13, 1685, AC, C 11A, 7:103. The map was sent to Seignelay two years later. Cf. Henry Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents, 1545-1700,* Paris, 1872, 207, no. 233.

[27] On Jean Deshayes, cf. J.-E. Roy, "La cartographie et l'arpentage sous le régime français," in BRH, I, 1895, 36; [P.-G. Roy], "Jean Deshayes, hydrographe du Roi," *ibid.,* XXII, 1916, 128-138; XXXVIII, 1932, 281.

> here [Quebec] to Lake Ontario. This was not done without trouble. I thought he was going to die at any moment in my canoe. I told him to mark on his map all the inhabited places of the colony. You may be sure, my Lord, that it is accurate.[28] In time, my Lord, we shall try to give you a good knowledge of the whole country.[29]

The illness of still another engineer, Robert de Villeneuve,[30] further limited the number of maps sent to Paris this same year. The governor regrets that he can forward no more than the plans of Three Rivers, Montreal, Catarok8y, and Quebec.[31] Toward the end of his forty-two page letter, "a large volume," he calls it, Denonville comes back again to the subject of Franquelin:

> I have had the Sieur Franquelin make drawings of the sketches of the Sieur Jolliet (*infra,* nos. 10 and 11). The latter is seriously interested in his work and has made a thorough study of our river. He has had a great share in many of the discoveries made in this country. He is a good man, and could also teach navigation and form pilots in this country, if you were kind enough, my Lord, to give him some subsidy each year.
>
> The said Jolliet, my Lord, is hoping that this work of the past several years which I have the honor of sending to you, will be rewarded with some pecuniary bounty. He has a fishery at Anticosti, an island which has been granted to him. I am sending in his name, a memoir on sedentary fishing to M. Morel, who will speak to you about it. It would be well to employ our Canadians in this occupation. You will see [on the map], my Lord, how many settlements there are on both sides of the lower course [of the St. Lawrence River].[32]

Denonville's petition on behalf of Franquelin was effective. On November 15, 1686, the mapmaker wrote to Seignelay, thanking the minister for his appointment as "royal hydrographer at Quebec," with a salary of 400 livres per annum.[33] During Denonville's governorship, Franquelin's output of maps was the greatest; at least, more of his extant maps were made between 1685 and 1689 [*infra,* no. 10 and ff.], than during any other four-year period of his life. He thus describes his position during this period:

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[28] This is perhaps the map listed in Marcel, *Cartographie,* 17, no. 24.

[29] Denonville to Seignelay, November 13, 1685, AC, C 11A, 7:103v-104.

[30] On this engineer, cf. P[ierre]-G[eorges] R[oy], "Le sieur de Villeneuve, ingénieur du Roi," in BRH, X, 1904, 280-282.

[31] Cf. Harrisse, *Notes,* 203, no. 224; Marcel *Cartographie,* 15, no. 16, 16, no. 18, 17, nos. 21 and 22.

[32] Denonville to Seignelay, November 13, 1685, AC, C 11A, 7:104.

[33] Franquelin to [Seignelay], November 15, 1686, BN, Clairambault, 285-286. On the date of Franquelin's appointment as hydrographer, cf. Roy, *Proceedings,* 49; Marcel, *Cartographie,* 13.

> Considering that the said Franquelin was useful to the colony, and since it was known that he had spent all his resources making maps without any recompense up to that time, M. de Denonville wrote to the Court that he be given a salary, and the following year, 1686, he was given only 400 livres [per annum]. The said Sieur Marquis de Denonville told him to accept, in the hope that he would have this salary raised, for it was hardly enough to pay the rent and fuel bills.[34]

In his sketch of Franquelin, M. Roy quotes from a résumé of a letter first printed by Marcel.[35] While thanking the minister for the position of official hydrographer in Canada, Franquelin calls attention to the fact that 400 livres will hardly enable him to live. In order to do his teaching he must rent a house large enough to accommodate the pupils, and the rent alone of such a house amounts to 100 *écus* (300 livres) a year.[36] Another résumé of one of his letters for the same year contains this further appeal: "The Sieur Franquelin, hydrographer at Quebec, represents that he has been making maps of Canada for the past twelve years, and has sent maps to my Lord through MM. the governors and intendants." He then says that his salary as teacher of navigation is only 400 livres; "having a great number of pupils, he must have a large place wherein to teach." He cannot afford to rent such a large house with his salary, for he has a large family to support. In 1687, this family consisted of himself, his wife, the eight children which she had by her first husband and a daughter who had been born of her marriage to Franquelin the year before. He was also having trouble with a former landlord at this time. He had made, it seems, some alterations to the house and had sent the bill to the landlord. The latter promptly filed suit, asking the court to decide whether such alterations were necessary.[37] What the court did is not known. The résumé above quoted ends as follows: "He begs to be employed making plans as well as hydrographical and geographical maps of the country, and to be given the same salary as was paid to those sent to the colony for that purpose two years ago."[38]

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[34] Memoire touchant les voyages . . ., BN, Clairambault, 879:294v.

[35] Marcel, *Cartographie,* 13; Roy, *Proceedings,* 50.

[36] Roy, *Proceedings,* 50, note 1, gives an extract from the lease of a house in 1686, the rent was 135 livres a year.

[37] *Jugements et délibérations,* III, 178, 181.

[38] AC, C 11A, 9:159v.

His reference here is to Deshayes and Villeneuve. The former had written to Paris in 1687, offering to finish the map of the St. Lawrence River which he had begun; if this offer were accepted, he asked to be paid six months' arrears of his salary, and also the use of a small boat such as he had been given for his first survey of the river.[39] Denonville and the new intendant, Champigny, wrote to Seignelay, expressing surprise that the plans of the fort and of the town of Quebec as well as a map of the Ile d'Orléans, made by Villeneuve and sent to Paris in 1686, had not reached the hands of the minister:[40]

> He [Villeneuve] is finishing the map of the Island of Montreal and that of Lake Ontario. If he does not work as fast as one might wish, it is not our fault. We can see that he is very much disgusted at having to remain in this country. If my Lord would be willing to employ the Sieur Franquelin who is settled here, it would mean bread for him, by turning over to him the salary which my Lord ordered us to pay the Sieur de Villeneuve. He is necessary to the colony and will acquit himself well of whatever maps my Lord may wish to have.
>
> Should my Lord employ the Sieur Franquelin as a mapmaker, we are of the opinion that my Lord could do no better than to hand over the teaching of navigation to the Jesuit Fathers. They have promised to open a special class for this branch.[41]

Franquelin's memoir tells us what happened the following year:

> In 1688, the said Franquelin made another voyage at his own expense, which cost him between 1,500 and 1,600 livres, in order to bring [to France] the general map requested by the Court for determining the boundary line between New France and New England. Although he made this voyage at the express order of M. the Marquis de Denonville and M. de Champigny, he was given only 400 livres for his expenses.[42]

He left Quebec in November, a few months after the birth of his second child.[43] Before his departure he had been commissioned by the governor and the intendant "to go next year to the Ottawa country to draw the map of that region." He was to be allowed to bring merchandise to the West, and to pay the expenses of this expedition with the profits made from trading.[44]

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[39] AC, C 11A, 9:160.

[40] They ultimately reached Paris. Cf. Harrisse, *Notes,* 205, no. 206.

[41] Denonville and Champigny to Seignelay, November 6, 1687, AC, C 11A, 9:10v.

[42] Memoire touchant les voyages . . ., BN, Clairambault, 879:294v.

[43] Tanguay, I, 241.

Together with the large map (*infra,* no. 18), which he brought to France,[45] he presented a petition, in which, after recalling that he had gone to Canada "nearly seventeen years ago in view of trading," he asked for an increase of salary, giving the same reasons as before: 400 livres hardly suffice to pay the rent and the fuel bill of the "place where he teaches." Seignelay, he hopes, will be pleased with the map and with the memoir added to it by order of Denonville and Champigny.[46]

The memoir emphasizes the importance of determining the boundaries of New France, of setting up landmarks bearing the arms of His Majesty, and of making an accurate map of the whole colony.[47] Franquelin made a point of advocating in his memoir that New France be divided into "provinces," and that fixed French names should be given to them, "as well as to rivers and settlements, doing away with all Indian names, which only create confusion, because they change very often, and because each tribe names places and rivers in its tongue, so that one and the same thing always has several different names." Fortunately this recommendation was not acted upon, for it would have been a pity to have the names of French towns or French noblemen take the place of magnificent Indian names which so vividly describe the many towns, rivers, and lakes of the region that was New France in the seventeenth century. He also proposed to make economic maps of the various "provinces" and told the minister of his promise to Denonville and Champigny to begin the work of determining the boundaries of the colony on his return. His reason for asking Seignelay for a formal commission "and the same salary as that of the engineers in Canada, in addition to his present salary," is because "he will have to pay a draughtsman in Quebec to draw the maps [based on the rough field notes sent by Franquelin] so that some maps can be sent to France each year."

In the "additions" to this memoir, he suggests that the work of determining the boundary line between French and English territory really ought to be undertaken first in the Iroquois country, if conditions were more favorable, but it is just as important, he says, to settle the limits between the French and the English possessions in the Hudson Bay region.

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[44] Coppie de l'ordre et permission de Monsieur le marquis de Denonville et de Monsieur de Champigny, November 5, 1688, BN, Clairambault, 879:280.

[45] Chabaud to de Lancet, November 9, 1688, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 2610:44-45. This letter is printed in BRH, XXIX, 1923, 286-288; the pertinent passage will be found in Marcel, *Cartographie,* 14, but the date of the letter, November 29, is erroneous.

[46] BN, Clairambault, 879:283.

[47] This memoir is in BN, Clairambault, 879:280-281; the additions spoken of below, *ibid.,* 290-290v. Both documents are printed in Marcel, *Cartographie,* 12-13. There is a summary of their contents in Harrisse, *Évolution Cartographique de Terre-Neuve,* 327-328.

From a letter of Louis XIV to Denonville and Champigny, as well as from a royal order to these officials, it seemed as though Franquelin's financial distress would soon be over, his persistent efforts to obtain the salary of an engineer at last successful. The king suggested that Villeneuve should return to France, but left the final decision to Denonville.

> His Majesty is quite willing to have M. de Denonville consider whether the Sieur Franquelin is capable of filling the post of Villeneuve. In which case His Majesty would approve if they [Denonville and Champigny] give the post to Franquelin, and, while waiting to be notified of the king's intentions, the Sieur de Champigny may pay him a salary to be taken from the funds allocated for the full payment of the Sieur de Villeneuve's services.[48]

Three weeks later, probably in consequence of the "additions" to the memoir regarding the determination of the boundaries of New France, the king commanded the "Sieurs de Denonville and de Champigny to give the Sieur Franquelin, who is leaving for Canada in order to make the map of the northern regions, all the help he needs."[49]

He left France shortly after the date of this order. At the time of his arrival in Canada, Denonville, unfortunately, had other things to think about than Franquelin's fitness to replace Villeneuve, for the mapmaker's arrival almost coincided with the date of the most frightful massacre in Canadian history, which took place at Lachine during the night of August 4, 1689. Denonville left Canada the following November, having been replaced by Frontenac, who landed at Quebec on the evening of October 12, 1689.[50] At this time the colony had not yet recovered from the shock of the Lachine massacre. The question of determining the limits of New France and of marking its boundaries could wait.

Though M. Roy is quite right in observing that Franquelin

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[48] Louis XIV to Denonville and Champigny, May 1, 1689, AC, B 15:54.

[49] Louis XIV to Denonville and Champigny, May 24, 1689, AC, B 15:70-70v.

[50] Frontenac to Seignelay, November 15, 1689, AC, C 11A, 10:218v, printed in P. G. Roy, ed., *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1927-1928,* (RAPQ), Quebec, 1928, 18.

"was rather a cartographer than an engineer" his conjecture that he "perhaps refused the post of engineer which the king was giving him"[51] is hardly likely. His need of money was so great that he would have made every effort to give satisfaction, and we know how often he had asked during the previous years for precisely this post. There is reason to believe, however, that even if no Lachine massacre had occurred and even if Denonville had remained Governor of New France, Franquelin would not have been appointed as engineer, for we know that his appointment to the post was made conditional upon Denonville's judgment of his fitness for it. And this judgment can be fairly seen from a report which Denonville wrote in January 1690, after his return to France: "The school of hydrography would be better in the hands of the Jesuits than in those of the Sieur Franquelin who does not bother much about forming the pilots the colony greatly needs."[52]

Under the circumstances, Franquelin's lack of interest in the forming of pilots should cause no surprise. The marvel is that he could find any time at all for his poorly paid map-making and teaching, when he had to find means of supporting his wife and the children she had by her former marriage, as well as his own children, the second of whom was born in 1688. At the time of Franquelin's marriage to Elizabeth Aubert, her eldest child was eleven years old and her youngest ten weeks. Her former husband, Bertrand Chesnay, was himself a widower when she married him, and when she married Franquelin in 1683, the children which Chesnay had by his first wife had promised to contribute jointly a sum of 400 livres toward the upbringing of Elizabeth's children. In 1690, however, this promise had not yet been fulfilled; and in May of this year Franquelin seems to have become impatient. We find him petitioning the Sovereign Council to obtain the promised sum from the delinquents, on the ground that he needed the money to pay some of the debts contracted in bringing up Elizabeth's children.[53]

In October of the same year, Phipps appeared before Quebec. Franquelin refers to the stirring event in a memoir presented to Pontchartrain in 1692, together with a map of the Atlantic Coast, and in this memoir he again asks for the post of engineer, observing that "he has often acted in that capacity, as for instance during the siege of Quebec by the English, when he directed all the necessary defense work to the satisfaction of the men in power in the colony and of all the officiers."[54] In corroboration of this statement, he produced the following attestation signed by Frontenac: "He performed the duties of an engineer during the siege by the English, and on later occasions also, whenever there was no engineer at hand, and he acquitted himself perfectly of these duties."[55]

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[51] Roy, *Proceedings*, 50.
[52] Denonville to Seignelay, January 1690, AC, C 11A, 11:193.
[53] *Jugements et délibérations,* III, 416, 419-420.

The siege of Quebec prevented Franquelin from sending any maps to Paris in 1690. As we saw, he had been commissioned by the king to make a map of the Hudson Bay region on his return to Canada. A petition presented by him to the Sovereign Council, October 29, 1691, explains why he had not carried out the order of the king, and shows that his financial situation was as hopeless as ever. The petition quotes the royal commission "to survey and make the map of the northern parts of America," and explains that he has thus far been unable to carry out this order "on account of the war." He goes on to say that some years earlier he had been obliged to borrow money from Hugues Cocheran *dit* Floridor, a merchant of Quebec, who died at the end of 1689.[56] The tutor of Cocheran's son then appealed to the Marshalsea of Quebec to order Franquelin to repay the 1,250 livres, 6 *sols,* 8 *deniers* which were owed to his ward. In pursuance of the orders of this court, the sheriff served notice on Franquelin, August 7, 1691. Of course the debtor was unable to pay this debt, and in his petition to the Sovereign Council he explains that if he had been able to carry out the order of the king, he would have had the necessary funds to reimburse his creditors. He therefore appeals from the sentence of the Marshalsea to the Sovereign Council, the highest court of justice in the colony, asking for a moratorium of eighteen months, after which time he will reimburse the tutor of the child of Hugues Cocheran. Now that the war is over, he is ready to make the survey and the map, and even has an

> order from M. the Comte de Frontenac . . . dated March 16 of the present year [1691], commanding the said petitioner to be ready to leave with the first convoy he would send to the Ottawa country and

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[54] A Monseigneur de Pontchartrain. Memoire de Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin hydrographe pour le Roy a Quebec en Canada, BN, Clairambault, 879:278-279.

[55] Memoire pour l'hydrographe de quebec, BN, Clairambault, 879:281-281v.

[56] Tanguay, I, 134.

to choose the men necessary to go with him, as the said order explains at greater length.[57]

For reasons which we have been unable to ascertain Franquelin did not go with the first convoy led by Courtemanche at the end of April 1691 or with any of the others leaving for the West during that same year. The registers of the Sovereign Council show that he had other creditors who were "persecuting" him. In July 1692 he asked this judicial body that the same eighteen-month moratorium apply not only to the Cocheran succession but to all his creditors. These were pressing him so hard and their demands worried him so much that "he was unable to attend to his work which requires close attention."[58]

In spite of being thus delayed, the surveying and mapping of the Northwest was not lost sight of. In 1691 Frontenac received an order from Paris to grant Franquelin two trade permits to cover the expenses of the undertaking. Frontenac issued the two *congés* in 1692; they were visaed by the intendant, but Franquelin was again "unable to leave [Quebec for the Ottawa country] because the Iroquois were blocking all the roads."[59]

It thus became evident that the proposed survey would be indefinitely postponed. A few months later, therefore, Franquelin was ordered to France on the *Envieux*. This order was given in connection with the carrying out of a plan long cherished by French officials in Canada—the conquest of New York. Talon,[60] and Dubois d'Avaugour before him,[61] had seen that the French would never break the power of the Iroquois without first humbling the Dutch and the English. Denonville also deemed this was the only way of ridding New France of the Iroquois menace. In 1689, he had sent Callières to France to explain the situation to Seignelay,[62] and a few months later Frontenac, who was then about to return to Canada, had been given permission to carry out the plan.[63] When he arrived in Quebec, however, the season was too far advanced.[64] Moreover, nothing was ready.[65]

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[57] *Jugements et délibérations,* III, 579-580.

[58] *Jugements et délibérations,* III, 669.

[59] Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1693, RAPQ, 1928, 174.

[60] Talon to Colbert, November 13, 1666, RAPQ, 1931, 61; NYCD, IX, 57.

[61] Memoir of August 3, 1663, NYCD, IX, 15.

[62] Callières' memoir of January 1689, *ibid.,* 401-408.

[63] Memoire pour servir d'instruction à Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac sur l'entreprise de la Nouvelle York, June 7, 1689, RAPQ, 1928, 12; NYCD, IX, 423.

[64] Summary of intelligence from Canada, 1689, 1690, NYCD, IX, 436.

[65] Memoir of Denonville, January 1690, *ibid.,* 445.

In 1692 there was a man in Canada who knew the Atlantic seaboard very well indeed. He was Antoine Laumet, better known under the noble *alias* of Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac.[66] As Pontchartrain said in a letter to the governor at this time, information about the coast previously sent to Paris was not sufficiently precise, and "the Sieur de Cadillac must be sent to France by the first ships, because, as the king has learned, he is the best informed man" in all that concerns the lie of the coast, the landings, soundings, etc.[67] Frontenac replied to the Minister in September:

> I shall also order the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac to embark [on the *Envieux*] together with the hydrographer [Franquelin], who drew all the maps and plans which I was sending you by the *Saint François Xavier*.[68] From these maps you would have seen that I had done my best to give you all the information you desire. While sailing along the coast, they [Cadillac and Franquelin] will be able to correct these maps, and give you still more exact information when they have the honor of saluting you.[69]

Our travelers reached France in November 1692.[70] After his arrival Franquelin delivered to Pontchartrain a memoir to the effect that he had been sent to Paris by Frontenac and Champigny "to bring you, my Lord, the maps of the coast, harbors, and principal towns of New England (*infra,* nos. 20 and 21)." The reason for sending him was because

> He has the most accurate, the most perfect knowledge of all this. For nearly five months,[71] under their orders, he has been working on these maps with the utmost care making the necessary research and ascertaining everything that is to be learned. He drew and re-drew each and all the plans of every place several times, until those who had actually been in these places, whether Frenchmen, Englishmen, or Indians, approved these various plans and agreed with him as well as with one another that all the plans were accurate.[72]

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[66] An article on the early years of Cadillac in America will be published in one of the coming issues of MID-AMERICA.—Ed.

[67] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, April 1692, RAPQ, 1928, 102.

[68] This ship was lost at the end of 1691. Cf. Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1692, RAPQ, 1928, 105; *Jugements et délibérations,* III, 777, 1091.

[69] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1692, RAPQ, 1928, 114.

[70] Frontenac's order sending Franquelin to France is dated September 22, 1692, *Jugements et délibérations,* III, 737.

[71] Cf. Memoires de L'Acadie et de la nouvelle angleterre, 1693, by Cadillac, AC, C 11D, 10:n. p.

[72] Memoire de Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin, BN, Clairambault, 879:278-279.

If the minister wishes to have a still better knowledge of the coast, Franquelin is ready to go to learn more about it next year, 1694, provided he be given a light frigate equipped with twelve or sixteen guns. Thus armed, it would be possible to capture "small [New England] boats that come unarmed to fish off Acadia or to get coal from Cape Breton Island." Much information about the English colonies could be had from the crews of these boats, and the data learned from one could be checked against those obtained from another. From the résumé dated February 8, 1693, it is clear that one page of the memoir is missing, for the résumé adds that Franquelin asks for an increase in salary and offers to act as engineer in the colony.[73]

Meanwhile Cadillac, who had accompanied Franquelin to France was flooding the minister with very detailed memoirs about Acadia, New York, and New England; these, wrote the king to Frontenac and Champigny, would be used in due time:

> But maps have still to be made of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and of its northern and southern coasts, as well as a map of the course of the river up to Quebec. You must gather very carefully whatever information may have been acquired by men who know the river, like the Sieur Jolliet, for instance, and have them draw maps thereof during the winter. The engineer [Levasseur de Néré who had succeeded Villeneuve], the Sieur Franquelin, as well as the said Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, are to do this also, and they must check the maps which have been drawn on the latter's memoirs, correct them if necessary, and send everything to Paris.[74]

A few days later, Pontchartrain notified Champigny that the king had given leave to Franquelin's family, that is, his wife, eight children, and two maids, to return to France. "His Majesty desires that you embark them on the first of his ships sailing from Quebec, and that you give the necessary orders for their subsistence during the crossing."[75] It is easy to understand why this leave was asked: The unfortunate mapmaker wished to deliver his family from the "persecutions" of his creditors. When he left in 1692, his wife was with child for the fifth time, and from what Pontchartrain wrote to Champigny, it appears that three of Madame Franquelin's children by her first marriage were still living with her.

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[73] Extrait des lettres et differentes demandes sur les affaires de Canada, AC, C 11A, 12:336v.

[74] Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, March 28, 1693, RAPQ, 1928, 144.

[75] Pontchartrain to Champigny, April 1, 1693, AC, B 16:286v.

By a curious coincidence, five days after this order of Pontchartrain, Elizabeth Aubert was appearing before the Sovereign Council in Quebec, on the eve of the birth of her fifth child.[76] She represented that but for the war her husband would have been able to survey and map the northern parts of America as the king had ordered, and so satisfy the demands of his creditors. Instead, however, he had been sent to France in the previous autumn, by Frontenac for the service of his Majesty, and therefore, she will be unable to reimburse his creditors on the twenty-seventh of this month when the eighteen-month moratorium expires. Hence she asked the judges for another prorogation "until the arrival of the last ships" from France.[77]

Madame Franquelin cannot have been very sorry when the king's order to sail for France was communicated to her, and she did not waste much time in preparing for the journey. In his reply to Pontchartrain, Champigny wrote: "The Sieur Franquelin, teacher of hydrography, having resolved to remain in France, the Jesuit Fathers willingly undertook to teach the children in his place and had in fact begun to do so last year," that is, in 1692, when the mapmaker went to France. If Franquelin does not return, he continues, his salary of 400 livres will be given to the Jesuits to pay the teacher, if this is agreeable to His Majesty. "I have given orders that his wife and family, returning to France on the *Corossol,* should be provided with what is necessary for the crossing as you commanded me to do."[78]

Champigny, it will be noticed, does not say how many of Franquelin's children embarked on this vessel. But from the genealogical list in Tanguay and in M. Roy, it appears that his wife left her three youngest children in Quebec, one six months old, and the others three and two years old respectively. Franquelin's memoir tells us what happened on this voyage, in such a way, incidentally, as to confirm the date which we have assigned to this document.

He first explains how, after having done everything that was expected of him, he found himself unable to return to Canada for lack of money. Since the minister had not been notified that the only reason for his coming was the service of the king, he had been given only 300 livres,[79] hardly enough to pay for his four months' lodging at Versailles. He was being supported by friends in Paris, in the hope that further funds would be given him by Pontchartrain. Then after recounting his services since the end of 1674, he continues:

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[76] Tanguay, I, 201.

[77] *Jugements et délibérations,* III, 737.

[78] Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1693, AC, C 11A, 12:280.

[79] This sum was over and above the 450 livres which the intendant gave Franquelin for his voyage; cf. Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 10, 1692, AC, C 11A, 12:88v.

> Seeing that he could not support his family in Canada, and having entirely ruined himself in the service of the king, though always hoping that some day his work would be rewarded, he resolved last year to bring his family to France and settle it on some property which he possesses in Touraine. He would be better able to subsist in Canada if alone, and could carry on his work there more easily. But to crown all his misfortunes, he has just learned to his great sorrow that the ship on which his wife and his children had embarked has undoubtedly been wrecked. Now he finds himself bereft of all that was dearest to him and of the help he was expecting so as to reimburse those who were kind enough to advance him money during the time he had been forced to stay in Paris.[80]

We know that the *Corossol* foundered off Sept Isles in November 1693.[81] It is this date which leads us to think that the memoir was written at the beginning of 1694, for news of the disaster can hardly have reached Paris before January 1694.

In his utter ruin and deep affliction, Franquelin begs Pontchartrain to have compassion on him, to consider what services he has rendered to the colony and what services he can still render. All he asks for is enough money to repay his friends in Paris, and a more adequate salary than 400 livres a year. He would then return to Canada and undertake an extensive survey of all the cultivated land in the colony; he would plot roads from Quebec to Acadia, Boston, and Albany; he would search for a shorter and easier overland route to Hudson Bay, and would survey the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. During the winter he would teach navigation and drawing, and in the summer he would take ten or twelve of his pupils with him in his survey work so that they could put in practice their theoretical knowledge.[82]

Pontchartrain agreed to this arrangement, and the king notified Frontenac and Champigny that it has pleased His Majesty

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[80] Memoire touchant les voyages . . ., BN, Clairambault, 879:294-294v.

[81] On this shipwreck cf. Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1694, Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 5, 1694, RAPQ, 1928, 189, 209; the declaration of François Poisset, in BRH, XXV, 1919, 280-281; P. G. Roy, *Inventaire de pièces sur la côte de Labrador conservées aux Archives de la Province de Québec,* Quebec, 1940, Vol. I, 254, 256.

[82] Memoire touchant les voyages . . ., BN, Clairambault, 879:294bis-294ter.

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to send back as hydrographer the Sieur Franquelin, who has handed in a memoir of what he intends to do. The carrying out of his plans, however, should be postponed to a more favorable time. Meanwhile His Majesty wishes them to collect diligently the observations which have already been made, especially those which concern navigation on the St. Lawrence, and make use of them to correct the maps of the river.[83]

The "memoirs" spoken of by the king were very probably the plans mentioned in the autobiographical memoir. Franquelin was to have sailed on the *Charente*,[84] but for some unknown reason, and contrary to what M. Roy says,[85] he did not return to Canada in 1694. In fact, he never again set foot in New France. In a joint letter of November 5, 1694, the governor and the intendant wrote to Pontchartrain:

> The Sieur Franquelin, hydrographer, has not returned to this country, as His Majesty did us the honor of notifying that he would. We have no knowledge of the memoirs he has handed to you, which apparently deal with what is to be done to make more safe the navigation of the [St. Lawrence] River. Nobody is better equipped to make such observations than the ship captains who come to this country.[86]

In his letter, Pontchartrain had accused Frontenac and Champigny of negligence as regards the mapping of the St. Lawrence; and the disgruntled tone of their reference to Franqulin may be due to a suspicion that the latter had given an unfavorable report about them to the minister, and even that he had attributed the wreck of the *Corossol* to a lack of good maps of the St. Lawrence. As a matter of fact, though he himself had been planning to make a survey of the coast line near the mouth of the river, Franquelin does not attempt in his memoir to blame anyone in particular for the wreck.

From this time on, our information about the activities of Franquelin is very scanty. We know that after this date there are five extant maps of his (*infra,* nos. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26). The last mention of his name in the records of the Sovereign Council is dated April 11, 1695. On this day, Jean Soulard, the tutor of the son of Cocheran, asked to be paid the sum of 144 livres, 2 *sols,* 2 *deniers,* by Denis Roberge and Gervais Baudouin, the hus-

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[83] Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, [May 8], 1694, AC, B 17:84, printed without date in RAPQ, 1928, 97.

[84] Passenger list of the *Charente,* April 24, 1694, AC, B 17:62v.

[85] Roy, *Proceedings,* 53.

[86] Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 5, 1694, AC, C 11A, 13:22v, printed under the date November 9, in RAPQ, 1928, 208.

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bands of two sisters of Franquelin's wife, Elizabeth Aubert. This sum was still owing to him, even after a sale of Franquelin's furniture had realized 437 livres, 13 *sols;* and Soulard was therefore suing the two defendants "as having money belonging to the absent Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin." The verdict was as follows:

> The Council has ordered and is hereby ordering that what remains of the furniture shall be the property of the said Baudouin as a compensation for the debts by him paid for the said Franquelin and for the expenses incurred in raising, on the advice of the king's attorney for the Marshalsea of this city, one of the said children of the said Franquelin at nurse [in Baudouin's home] since the death of the wife of the said Franquelin in the shipwreck of the king's vessel, the *Corossol.*[87]

In the beginning of 1697 Franquelin was still in Paris, where Vauban, Louis XIV's famous military engineer, was employing him as a draughtsman. We learn this from a letter of Chevry to Lagny:

> I am sending you, Sir, the Sieur Franquelin with the first draft of the plan of the Bay of Boston [cf. *infra,* no. 21]. In spite of his urgent occupations, he promises the neat copy of it by next Tuesday [the letter was written on Wednesday]. He has at his home the map of the coast from Pentagouet [Penobscot] to this bay and from this bay to Manhatte, as well as the plan of the latter town and of its environs. I beg of you to receive him kindly, so that he may keep his word for M. de Vauban does not leave him much [free] time.[88]

The map of the coast as well as the plans of Boston and of New York spoken of by Chevry were certainly copies of those which Franquelin brought to France in 1692, for it was his habit to keep all the sketches he made, and to supplement them with such further details as would come to him in the course of time. In 1697, he made a map of the course of the Mississippi from its headwaters to the Gulf of Mexico, embodying all that he had learned from Le Sueur about the upper course of the river [*infra,* no. 23]. This map was signed: "J. B. Louis Franquelin Hydro. & Geogr. du Roy." Though this signature suggests that he was royal geographer as well as royal hydrographer, we have been unable to find any evidence of his appointment to this important position. In spite of the difference between these two offices, it is probable, as Harrisse suggests, that Franquelin made no distinction between them,[89] for he uses the same signature as early as 1687, and later, in 1699. Had these maps been published, such a signature would not have been appended on them unless Franquelin had actually been appointed Royal Geographer, for to use this title without authorization was against the law.

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[87] *Jugements et délibérations,* III, 1008.

[88] Chevry to Lagny, January 16, 1697, in *Collection de manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle-France,* 4 volumes, Quebec, 1883-1885, II, 253.

The last bit of evidence which we have about Franquelin has to do with his appointment to the office of Royal Hydrographer at Quebec for the second time. This post had been filled by Jolliet from 1697[90] to his death sometime after May 4 and before September 15. Franquelin must have applied for this position as soon as Jolliet's death became known in Paris, for the abstract of the letter[91] which informed Jérôme Pontchartrain of his event contains the following marginal note: "The Sieur Franquelin, formerly hydrographer in that country, where he acquitted himself well of his duties, is asking for this post."[92] The appointment was made without delay:

> Commission of professor of hydrography at Quebec for the Sieur Franquelin who succeeds the late Sieur Jolliet. Today, the eighteenth of the month of May 1701, the King being at Versailles. Wishing to fill the place of professor of hydrography at Quebec, vacant since the death of the Sieur Jolliet, and knowing that the Sieur Franquelin has the necessary experience to acquit himself well of it, His Majesty has retained and appointed and does hereby retain and appoint him professor of hydrography in the said place, to exercise the functions thereof under the orders of the Sieur de Champigny, intendant of justice, police and finances in New France, and to be paid the salary that shall be determined in the budget and ordinances which will be sent to that effect. His Majesty commands the said intendant to have the said Franquelin acknowledged as the said professor of hydrography in those things which pertain to the said position.[93]

But even after receiving this commission, Franquelin never actually returned to occupy the position assigned to him. What prevented his return to Quebec, we do not know. The following letter from Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain informs us merely that he is not returning.

> The Sieur Franquelin to whom His Majesty has granted the place

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[89] *Évolution Cartographique de Terre-Neuve,* 331.

[90] His commission dated April 30, 1697, is in AC, B 19:275.

[91] Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain [Maurepas], October 18, 1700, AC, C 11A, 18:12.

[92] *Ibid.,* 31v.

[93] AC, B 22:201v-202.

of professor of hydrography, vacant since the death of the Sieur Jolliet, is not coming this year to this country although he has received the salary. Seeing that the Jesuits have been teaching this subject since the death of the Sieur Jolliet, and have even begun to teach hydrography at Montreal in the hope that they may be given this post, we believe, my Lord, that it would be only just that they be paid for the year during which they have taught the subject.[94]

The chair left vacant by Jolliet was eventually given to Jean Deshayes. M. Roy suggests that one reason why Franquelin did not return to Canada was because of the debts he had contracted, and that another reason was the privations he had suffered after his marriage owing to the ridiculously small salary paid him by the government.[95] These reasons would indeed serve to explain his not returning in 1694, when, as we know, his name was actually on the April passenger list of the *Charente.* His last-minute change of plans on that occasion may well have been caused by the remembrance of his bothersome creditors, and the thought that his children would be better off with their aunts than if he returned to them.

By 1701, however, these reasons would no longer be so weighty. By this time, as he knew, all his debts had been paid. As a result of the commission which he had received, a year's salary had been given him in advance; his three children would no longer be such a burden, for they were then eleven, ten, and eight years old respectively, and the youngest, a boy, born in 1693, he had never seen. It is therefore likely that he would have returned, unless prevented by some very important external reasons. Our conjecture is that Vauban was unwilling to let him go, in view of his undoubted skill as a draughtsman.

"In spite of all our researches, we have been unable to find either the place or the date of Franquelin's death. All that we can say is that he died in France between 1712 and 1730."[96] M. Roy deduces this from the marriage contract of two of Franquelin's daughters, who remained in Canada when their mother embarked on the *Corossol.* In the marriage contract of the youngest, October 24, 1712, her father is said to be still alive; whereas he was dead when the elder daughter married Jacques Quesnesl in 1730.

Peculiarly enough the date and place of the death of the two men so intimately connected with the early cartography of the Mississippi Valley, one as an explorer, the other as a mapmaker, are unknown. All that can be said about Jolliet's death is that it occurred after May 4 and before September 15, 1700; as for Franquelin, the two extreme dates are much farther apart; instead of a margin of four months, there is an interval of eighteen years. With regard to the place, while it is surmised that Jolliet died somewhere near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, there is nothing to indicate the place where Franquelin died, except that it was somewhere in France.

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[94] Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain [Maurepas], October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19:19.

[95] Roy, *Proceedings,* 54.

[96] *Ibid.,* 55. Cf. *infra,* no. 26.

II

FRANQUELIN'S MAPS AND PLANS

KEY TO REPOSITORIES

AE,	Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
ASH,	Archives du Service Hydrographique
BN,	Bibliothèque Nationale
SHB,	Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique

[1674-1675]

1.—Carte de la descouuerte du S^{r} Jolliet ou lon voit la communication du Fleuue St. Laurens . . . et se descharge dans le sein Mexique.

SHB, B 4044-37.

The full title will be found in Harrisse, *Notes,* 194, no. 203. A reduced sketch is in J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* IV, 212-213.

This is the so-called Jolliet larger map. The reasons for attributing it to Franquelin are developed at length in an as yet unpublished book on the voyages of Jolliet; they can be mentioned here only in brief: first, the handwriting; next, the place where it was made, Quebec; then, the time, 1674-1675; the similarity of certain geographical features on this and other maps undoubtedly made by Franquelin; and finally, the passage in the text above. All point to him as draughtsman of this map.

We say "draughtsman," because a geographer would not likely make maps of so extensive an area as North America without indicating at least the latitudes, which Franquelin omitted more than once. Moreover, when we wish to test the accuracy of his maps we face the following difficulty: while his latitudes clearly are straight lines parallel to the equator, we have no means of identifying the projection on any of his maps, for his meridians are not traced. All we can do is find what older map he used as a basis. For his map of 1681, for instance, he tells us that he took the Azores as his prime meridian. This is vague enough, since these islands, from Formigas to Corvo, extend over six degrees of longitude. It is clear, however, that he was deceived by the projection of Sanson's map of 1650, which he used as a basis. Sanson took as his prime meridian not the Azores—for French law forbade him to do so—but the westernmost island of the Canary group, Ferro, seven degrees east of Formigas. If his prime meridian were the Azores, the mythical "Baye du St. Esprit," into which the Mississippi is made to empty, should appear on Franquelin's map of 1681, somewhere between the 267th and the 273th degree of longitude; actually, it is located between longitude 279° and 280°, *i. e.,* at the same longitude as on the Sanson map of 1650.

Franquelin's contributions consisted in expressing artistically the sketches, information, field notes of explorers, surveyors, and missionaries. Thus, on his maps of 1678 and 1681, the Mississippi is substantially the same as on the map which Jolliet drew from memory in 1674; on the map of 1684, it is as Franquelin saw on La Salle's map; finally, he himself says that the map of the Lower St. Lawrence River was drawn according to the observations and memoirs of Jolliet, and the map of the Upper Mississippi of 1697 according to data furnished by Le Sueur. We are not unaware that in such cases one might argue that the real author of the map is the one who made the sketch; cf. Marcel, *Reproductions de Cartes,* text, 93; but to attribute a manuscript map to the man who drew it can hardly be objected to, for the given author of many a printed map is often merely its engraver. We shall use the date written by Franquelin on his maps when he gives it; otherwise, we shall ascertain the year from internal and external evidence.

The so-called Jolliet smaller map, SHB, B 4044-37, is a copy of that of 1674-1675, on a smaller scale, made in Paris by Claude Bernou, *Some La Salle Journeys,* 32 ff., at the beginning of 1676. In *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West,* Boston, 1907, 452-453, Parkman gravely tells us that the shape of Lake Superior "is better given by Joliet" on this map, than on the map printed in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1670-1671, published in Paris at the beginning of 1672. We have here a clear case of anti-Jesuit astigmatism, for the so-called Jolliet smaller map is merely an incomplete copy—poorly done at that—of Franquelin's map of 1674-1675, and in making it, as he himself tells us, Bernou had nothing but the same *Jesuit Relation* map with which to supplement Franquelin. Parkman also says that the rest of the map, namely, south of the Ohio, is "apparently cut off to make room for Joliet's letter to Frontenac, which is written on the lower part of the map." This is incorrect on two counts. First, the letter is addressed not to Frontenac but to Colbert; secondly, the lower part of the map was not cut off to make room for the letter, for the larger map, of which this is a copy, has this same letter in a band on the side of the map. We shall have occasion later on to comment on Parkman's descriptions of maps, as given in *La Salle,* Appendix I, 449-457. A critical analysis of the maps themselves forces one to discard nearly all his judgments, although these have been echoed by numerous writers for the past seventy years.

1678

2.—Carte pour seruir a l'eclaircissement
du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle-France.
ASH, 125-1-1.

The dedication to Colbert by Duchesneau is in the second cartouche. Full title is in Harrisse, *Notes,* 197, no. 206.

Neither the latitudes nor the longitudes are marked. The eastern shore of Lake Huron is the westernmost limit. "Lac Herye," the southernmost latitude, is given a queer shape, and although this lake is more than 2,000 square miles larger than Lake Ontario, the latter, on this map, is fully three times the size of the former. The interior is studded with trees and decorated with figures of reindeers and beavers, a peculiarity of Franquelin's early maps. The "style" of these figures is distinctive enough to enable us to identify an undated, unsigned, and untitled map of his, *infra,* no. 4.

[1678]

3.—Carte Gnlle de la France Septen-
Trionnalle Contenant la découuerte du
pays des Ilinois Faite Par le Sieur Jolliet.
SHB, B 4040-11.

As on the preceding map, the second cartouche contains the dedication to Colbert by Duchesneau. Full title in Harrisse, *Notes,* 199, no. 214. In this as in other instances we refer to Harrisse for the full title because we do not wish to lengthen this article unduly. His transcription of titles does not always perfectly agree with the title as found on the map itself, but considering the conditions under which he had to work, his mistakes are remarkably few. A sketch of this map will be found in

Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History,* IV, 218, in *Cartier to Frontenac,* Boston and New York, 1894, 296.

With regard to the date of this map, cf. J. Delanglez, *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* Chicago, 1941, 109, note 25. Our reasoning is confirmed by a passage taken from the grant in fief of Anticosti Island by Duchesneau to Jolliet in March 1680. This grant was made "en considération de la découverte que le dit sieur Jolliet a faite du pays des Illinois, dont il nous a donné le plan, sur lequel la carte que nous avons envoyée *depuis deux ans* à Monseigneur Colbert, ministre et secrétaire d'État a esté tirée." E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississipi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur d'Anticosti,* Montreal, 1913², 230, and cf. p. 76.

For the lakes and the upper course of the Mississippi on this map, cf. *Hennepin's Description,* 110, 125, 139-140. The nomenclature of the Mississippi Valley and the delineation of the river itself, are taken from Marquette's holograph, and from the map, now lost, which Jolliet drew from memory after his return to Quebec in 1674.

In his description of this map, Parkman writes: "It is an elaborate piece of work, but very inaccurate." With regard to the course of the Mississippi, it is incomparably more accurate than that of La Salle which Franquelin was to re-draw six years later, and which Parkman describes at great length two pages further down. "This map, which is an early effort of the engineer Franquelin, does more credit to his skill as an engineer than to his geographical knowledge, which appears in some respects behind his time." *La Salle,* 453-454. The map on which Parkman bases this unfavorable comparison is a map of the Great Lakes, known as Parkman no. 3, sketch in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History,* IV, 215. On this map, made in Paris in the late seventies, the contours of the Great Lakes are merely a variant of those on Franquelin's map of 1674-1675; the descriptive legends are taken from early *Jesuit Relations,* from Jolliet's letter to Frontenac, and to these are added conjectural odds and ends with which the anonymous mapmaker graced his handiwork. The course of the Ohio on Parkman no. 3 is nothing else than a partial transcription of the course of this river as it appears on the Franquelin map of 1674-1675, where the Ohio is a later interpolation; cf. *Some La Salle Journeys,* 32 ff. The mapmaker's description of the country through which the Ohio flows is Jolliet's 1674 description of the Illinois country.

[167?-168?]

4.—[Map of the Great Lakes].
SHB, B 4040-40.

Reproduced in A.-L. Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes, Plans et Vues relatifs aux États-Unis et au Canada, . . . (1651-1731),* Paris, 1893, pl. 13; cf. Harrisse, *Notes,* 198, no. 209.

The two cartouches are empty. The map is neither dated nor signed, but the "style" of the figures of animals is clearly Franquelin's. Note also the two rivers, each having a lake as its headwaters and emptying into Lake Superior, which is exactly what is on the map of 1678, *supra,* no. 3. The Wisconsin River is not named; the Illinois is called "Riuiere descendante dans le fleuue Messisipi."

1681

5.—Cette carte est une des quatre parties de la description generale du Canada et des terres qui s'estendent depuis 27 degrez jusqu'a 61 de lattitude Septentrionale, et depuis 246 degrez jusqu'a 338 de long. A Quebec en la Nouuelle France le 10 Septembre 1681, par Jean Louis Franquelin.
SHB, B 4040-2.

The other three parts of the same size are *ibid.,* nos. 3, 4, and 5. Harrisse, *Notes,* 199, no. 216, 200, nos. 217, 218, and 199, no. 215, respectively.

Franquelin used as a basis Sanson's map of North America, 1650. In this outline he inserted a variant of the course of the Mississippi as it appeared on Jolliet's lost map; the only notable additions being the insertion of Fort Crèvecoeur begun in January of the preceding year, and the protacting of the Ohio to the Alleghenies. The delineation of the Great Lakes is a modification of his previous drawings; Lake Superior is the same as on the Jesuit Map of 1671. How vague was the knowledge of the country north of Lake Superior at that time may be seen from the fact that Michipicoten Bay is situated at a higher latitude (by a distance of 60 miles) than the lower tip of James Bay, though actually it is 320 miles southwest of this point. Much of the nomenclature of the Lower St. Lawrence is taken from the map illustrating the Papier Terrier, *supra,* no. 2. On the map we are describing here, which was made the year after Jolliet received the concession of Anticosti Island, Franquelin inscribed the legend: "Maison du S^{r} Jolliet." For the opinions as to the location of this house, cf. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet,* 236; we think that it was situated on Ellis Bay.

1683

6.—Plan géometrique de la basseville de Québec auec partie de la haute ville. . . . Par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin 1683.

The title is from Marcel, *Cartographie,* 10, no. 13; cf. Harrisse, *Notes,* 201, no. 221. I have not seen this plan.

1683

7.—Carte du fort St. Louis de Quebec Par Iean Baptiste Louis Franquelin 1683.

The title is from Marcel, *Cartographie,* 14, no. 14; cf. Harrisse, *Notes,* 201, no. 220. A photographic reproduction of what appears to be a modern manuscript copy of this plan is in P. G. Roy, *La Ville de Québec sous le Régime Français,* 2 volumes, Quebec, 1939, I, facing p. 424.

1684

8.—Carte de la Louisiane ou des voyages du S^{r} de la Salle & des pays qu'il a découverts depuis la Nouvelle France jusqu'au Golfe Mexique, les annees 1679. 80. 81 & 82. Par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin l'An 1684. Paris.

This, the best known of Franquelin's maps, was in the Archives scientifiques de la Marine, Box 29^{b}, no. 2. Thomassy saw it there in the late 1850's, *Géologie pratique de la Louisiane,* New Orleans and Paris, 1860, 207, and reproduced in facsimile the course of the Mississippi from the Taensa villages to the Gulf, *ibid.,* pl. I, facing p. 16; the lower part of this plate was reprinted by Winsor in *Cartier to Frontenac,* 296. A manuscript copy of the whole map made for Parkman is now in the Harvard Library. Thwaites reproduced it in reduced form in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* vol. 63, frontispiece. A sketch of the map is in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History,* IV, 228. The original is now lost; it could not be found in the archives in 1870, when Harrisse was preparing his *Notes,* 201, no. 222. He thought at the time that this map was "a copy made by F. de la Croix, for Franquelin does not seem to have been in France this year [1684]." Harrisse evidently had not seen the letters of Beaujeu from which we quoted in the first part of this article.

For all that pertains to the course of the Mississippi, its tributaries and the Indian tribes, this map is a copy of La Salle's large map, *Some La Salle Journeys,* 34, which was re-drawn by Franquelin and by Minet. By means of these, together with La Salle's letters, it is possible to reconstruct the course of the river as he drew it; just as it is possible, by means of contemporary manuscript and cartographical documents to reconstruct with fair approximation, the course of the river as it appeared on Jolliet's lost map.

The "remarkable accuracy" with which Franquelin "gives the shape of . . . all the Great Lakes," is not so surprising as Parkman's comment would indicate, for their contours are a mere modification of the map of 1674-1675. Besides, the shape of these lakes was by this time very well known in Paris; for there were several manuscript maps representing them, and Coronelli's drawing of the lakes on his globe of 1683 was taken from Bernou's copy of Franquelin's map of 1674-1675. On all of Franquelin's maps the east-west length of the Great Lakes is much too great. On this one, for instance, there are 27 degrees between the outlet of Lake Ontario and Duluth, against the actual 16 degrees, at this latitude a difference of 550 miles.

Parkman's comment on the course of the Mississippi as it appears on this "interesting" map suggests that he is quite unaware of La Salle's geographical hoax, which Franquelin faithfully copied: "He makes the Mississippi bend much too far to the West." The extent of the distortion here involved can be seen by transposing this map on a modern one of the United States. When we translate the coordinates in modern terms, the Red River, for instance, empties into the Mississippi near Chihuahua, Mexico. If we should use the position of the confluence of the Ohio as a basis for our calculations, the mouth of the Red River would be located in Bee County, Texas. Indeed, the longitudinal difference between the mouth of the Ohio and that of the Red River, which are respectively at the easternmost and westernmost end of the lower course of the Mississippi is 1° 40′, whereas on this map the longitudinal difference between these two extreme points is 9 degrees.

[1684]

9.—Carte de la Louisiane En l'Amerique Septentrionale, depuis la Nouvelle France jusqu'au Golfe de Mexique, ou sont decris les Pays que le Sieur de la Salle a decouverts dans un grand continent compris depuis 50.degr. de l'Elevation du Pole jusques a 25, les années 1679.80.81.82.

BN, Ge DD, 2987. No. 8782.

This map, a tracing made by or for Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, was in the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères until 1924, and was thence transferred, together with the other maps and sketches of this geographer, to the Bibliothèque Nationale and given the above quoted call-number. Margry in the third volume of his *Découvertes,* frontispiece, and E. Lauvrière, in *Histoire de la Louisiane française 1673-1939,* University, Louisiana, 1940, frontispiece, reproduced this map in facsimile. Marcel mentions it in his *Cartographie,* 10, no. 12, calling attention to the fact that the part where the mouth of the Mississippi was shown is torn. This was certainly not done by La Salle, as De Villiers asserts, *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique (1684-1687),* Paris, 1931, 35, for it is the tracing which is torn, and the explorer had been dead then years when D'Anville was born. The tearing appears to have been an accident, which necessitated trimming the lower part and the right hand border of the map.

In *L'exploration du Missouri,* Paris, 1925, 25, De Villiers erroneously attributed this map to Delisle. According to Lowery, *A Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions . . .,* Washington, 1912, 167, who does not give the reference for his statement, Margry believed it to be a tracing of an original map of La Salle. Winsor wrote: "It [our no. 8] resembles closely one in the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères of similar title, no. 7920 [*i. e.,* 7220]. If not by Franquelin it was certainly made from his drafts." *Cartier to Frontenac,* 294, note. It is even more certain that the draughtsman or draughtsmen of the originals of both maps used the same basic map, for the shape of the Great Lakes, the delineation of the Mississippi and of its tributaries, and the nomenclature of the Mississippi Valley are the same on both maps. Since Franquelin's is nearly three times as large as D'Anville's, the latter cannot be said to be a tracing of the former. The loss of the originals makes one unable to determine which is prior, and for the same reason we cannot tell whether Franquelin made both, or whether in drawing his map he used as a model the smaller one made by La Salle, or by some other draughtsman for the explorer.

1685

10.—Carte du Fleuve St. Laurent dressée sur les Mémoires et observations du S^r Jolliet en 46 Voyages Par J. B. Louis Franquelin. 1685.

ASH, 126-1-2.

This is a much smaller and earlier state of the map listed by Harrisse, *Notes,* 205, no. 229, cf. next number. In the covering letter sent with the map, Denonville speaks of forty-nine voyages, AC, C 11A, 7:117-117v, the letter is in Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet,* 241-243; but Jolliet in his letter to Seignelay, November 10, 1685, wrote out "quarente six," AC, C 11E, 13:135v, the letter is in Marcel, *Cartographie,* 14-15.

1685

11.—Carte du grand Fleuve St. Laurens. . . . Par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin 1685.

ASH, 126-1-1.

Harrisse, *Notes,* 205, no. 229. I have not seen this map.

1686

12.—[Northern Canada with a portion of Acadia].

ASH, 132-2-2.

The above is the call-number on the photograph of this map in the Karpinski Collection. Under the title "Carte Geralle du

Voyage que Monsr. De Meulles . . . a fait . . .," Harrisse, *Notes,* 206, no. 232, has "Archives du Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine," (now ASH), "132-8-2." We do not know whether it is the same map for only a portion of it—with the date, 1686, inscribed by Franquelin—was photographed by Karpinski. However, legends on this part of the map clearly indicate that it was drawn to illustrate the voyage of De Meulles to Acadia in 1685-1686. Either Harrisse or Karpinski may have mistakenly transcribed "8" for "2" or *vice versa.*

A part of the same map is in W. I. Morse, *Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779),* 2 volumes, London, 1935, I, C. This author gives the call-number as ASH, 133-8-1, and lists it thus: "*Meulles. Carte générale de la Baie et Rivière du Port Royal* (slightly reduced 26 by 17 in.)," this seems to be the map mentioned by J.-E. Roy, in *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada,* Ottawa, 1911, 294. In ASH, portfolio 133, there are several sectional maps of the ports of Acadia to illustrate the voyage of the intendant, cf. Roy, *ibid.,* 295. The only way of settling the reference of these varying call-numbers would be to examine the originals—which is manifestly out of the question at present.

[1686]

13.—Carte de l'Amerique Septent^{le} . . . Le tout tres correctement et tres exactement dresse sur ce qu'en a veu l'Auteur et sur les justes et fidels memoirs et relations qu'il a eu soin de recueillir depuis plus de douze Annees de Gens experts qui ont voyagé dans toutes ces contrées. Par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin. Dessignée et Ecrite par F. de la Croix.

SHB, B 4040-8.

The title is from Harrisse, *Notes,* 202, no. 223, who dates it 1684, because on "the map dated 1688, Franquelin speaks of observations made during *more than 16 years;* since here the number is only twelve, we think that the map we are here describing is of 1684." This would be conclusive if Franquelin in his writings and on his maps did not use two different initial dates, namely, 1671, when he arrived in Canada, and 1674, when he began to make maps for the government.

We have only seen a partial reproduction of this map in Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes,* pl. 12, from SHB, B 4040-8, which has the region between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, but does not show the territory west of Lake Superior and around Hudson Bay. These northern parts have certain characteristics which enable one to determine the year approximately. However, near present-day Sarnia, is a "Fort du Destroit," and since it is known that Denonville did not send Duluth to build a fort on "the Strait" until June 1686, it follows that this map is of a later date. In his introductory note to L. P. Kellogg's *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699,* xiv, J. F. Jameson dates this map "about 1687." It is clear that Franquelin took as his initial date the year in which he began his cartographical work; in this case the date on the map corresponds to that in his autobiographical memoir, where he says that 1685 was the "twelfth year" since he began making maps.

[1686]

14.—Amerique Septent.$^{\text{lle}}$ Depuis environ
27 jusqu'a 62 degrez de Latit.
AE.

We have given the above date because on the tracing of it made by Bernou the title of which reads: "Amerique septentrionale depuis enuiron 27 iusqu'a 62 degrez de latitude. Par. J. Bapt. Louis franquelin geografe du Roy. a Quebec 1686." BN, Clairambault, 1017:133v-143. Otherwise we should have dated the map 1687, because a legend refers to the taking in 1686 of the fort near the mouth of the Albany River. The wording of this legend, "les francois l'ont pris en 1686," would seem to indicate that the map was made the following year. Franquelin refers to the expedition of the Chevalier de Troyes to Hudson Bay. Cf. I. Caron, ed., *Journal de l'expédition du Chevalier de Troyes à la Baie d'Hudson en 1686,* Beauceville, 1918. This map is posterior to the preceding one, for here the fort near present-day Sarnia is called "Fort du Lud."

Franquelin's maps during the next two years embody much information about Hudson Bay and the country northwest of Lake Superior, but several names of rivers, Indian tribes or villages, which appeared on his previous maps of the region between the Great Lakes and the Gulf are omitted. This may be taken as an indication of the state of mind prevailing in Canada at the time. They were more interested in driving the English out of Hudson Bay and in securing the exclusive trade of the more valuable beaver pelts in the north than in following in the footsteps of La Salle.

[1687]

15.—Amerique Septentrion^{lle} Composée corrigée et augme[n]tée sur les Iournaux, Memoires et observations les plus justes qui en ont été f^{tes} en l'année 1685 & 1686 par plusieurs Particuliers Par I Baptiste Louis Franquelin. G. du Roy.

SHB, B 4040-6.

The second cartouche has the dedication to Seignelay by "I. Baptiste Louis Franquelin Maistre d'Idrographie pour le Roy a Quebec." Margry made a partial tracing of this map, now in the Ayer Collection.

The longitudes and latitudes are not marked. Harrisse, *Notes,* 206, no. 231, dates this map 1686, probably because of the two dates in the title. A comparison between the legends on this and on no. 14, *supra,* clearly shows this to be a later state of the previous one. Moreover, it was not until the autumn of 1686 that he knew of his appointment as "Maistre d'Idrographie pour le Roy."

[after 1686]

16.—Carte du pays des Iroquois par I. B. L. F. Ydrographe du Roy.

SHB, B 4044-63.

Harrisse, *Notes,* 198, no. 213, dates this map 1679. Franquelin was not appointed "Ydrographe du Roy" until 1686.

The map listed by Harrisse, *Notes,* 209, no. 239, SHB, B 4044-64, was not made by Franquelin; it is an anonymous copy of Father Raffeix' map entitled: "Le Lac Ontario auec Les Lieux circonvoisins & particulierement Les cinq nations Iroquoises 1688," BN, Ge D, 8043. A draft of this map has the following note: "Carte faite conformement a la description du pays des Iroquois qu'en a fait le R. P. Rafex de la C[ompagnie] D[e] J[ésus] qui en a vû, exactmt ce pays y ayant été longtems missionnaire." SHB, B 4044-51.

1688

17.—Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionalle . . . Le Tout tres fidellement dressée, conformement aux observations que l'auteur en a faittes luy mesme pendant plus de 16 annees, par l'ordre des Gouverneurs et Intendans du Pays, pour le seruice du Roy, et pour leur instruction particuliere . . .; En l'Année 1688. Par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin, Hydrographe du Roy A Quebec en Canada.

SHB, B 4040-6bis.

Harrisse, *Notes,* 207, no. 234. In the lower left-hand corner there is a cartouche showing "Quebec comme il se voit du côté de l'Est." In Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* facing page 342, we find a partial reproduction made after a manuscript copy in the Map Division of the Library of Congress, which shows the country between the Great Lakes and the Gulf. Margry made a tracing, now in the Ayer Collection, of the upper part of the map, from Hudson Bay to the Ohio. Many legends are omitted.

It is clear that Franquelin is here dating the map from his arrival in Canada in 1671; "more than sixteen years," as he says in the title, gives the beginning of 1688.

A feature distinguishing this map from the others is the many "forts" which are indicated.

[1688]

18.—Carte de l'Amerique Septentrion.^{lle} . . . Le Tout tres exactement dressé conformement aux observations que l'Auteur en a faites luy mesme sur les lieux, & suiuant les Memoires, et Relations qu'il a eu soin de recueillir pendant pres de 17. annees . . . auant d'en dresser cette Carte pour presenter en Cour. Par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin.

SHB, B 4040-10.

Harrisse, *Notes,* 209, no. 240, dates it 1689. The wording of the title is almost the same as on the preceding map. Both were made in 1688; and Franquelin in both cases, reckons the time since his arrival in Canada in 1671. This map, he says, was made to be presented to the Court. We have seen that he left Quebec, bringing a large map to Paris in November 1688. In the memoir addressed to Seignelay on this occasion, he wrote that he came to Canada "nearly seventeen years ago."

As far as the representation of North America is concerned, the difference with no. 17, is negligible. On the later map there are two views of Quebec: in the lower right-hand corner "Quebec comme il se voit du costé de l'Est"; reproduced in Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes,* pl. 10; in the upper left-hand corner, "Quebec veu du Nord Ouest" takes the place of the coat of arms of the King of France in SHB, B 4040-6bis.

[after 1688]

19.—[Canada ou Nouvelle France, La Louisiana, Floride].

SHB, B 4040-9.

Harrisse, *Notes,* 214, no. 258. In the upper left-hand corner is a cartouche containing the dedication to Maurepas, the son of Louis Phélipeaux, Comte de Pontchartrain, "Par son Tres Humble & Tres Obeissant Seruiteur De Fonuille Enseigne d'une Compagnie du detachement de La marine A Quebec au Canada 1699."

There is no doubt that Franquelin drew this map. Fonville simply pasted over the original cartouche his dedication to Maurepas, and reproduced on each side of the map what, with much imagination and good will, might be considered caryatids of the Erechteion.

The map has four insets, a view of St. Augustine, Florida, and two of Quebec: one as seen from the east, the other from the northwest; these two views are reproduced in Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes,* pl. 8 and 9. In a band running the whole length of the bottom of the map is drawn "Le Grand Fleuve de St. Laurens depuis le Cap Tourmente Iusqu'au Fort de Frontenac."

We have dated this map "after 1688," because of a legend in which Franquelin mentions Minet, whom he apparently saw when he went to France in 1688. The map was made before he read the *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans le Nouvelle France,* published in Paris in 1691, cf. *infra,* no. 24.

1693

20.—Carte de la Coste de la Nouvelle Angletre . . . Par J. B. L. Franquelin Hydrographe du Roy 1693.

ASH, 135-1-1.

Harrisse, *Notes,* 213, no. 251. The insert contains a plan of New York "verifiée par le Sr de la Motte." It is reproduced in Marcel, *Reproductions de Cartes,* pl. 6, and in Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes,* pl. 3.

1693

21.—Carte de la ville, baye, et environs de Boston Par Iean Baptiste Louis Franquelin Hydrogr. du Roy. 1693. Verifiée par le Sr de la Motte.

ASH, 135-6-6.

Reproduced in Marcel, *Reproductions de Cartes,* pl. 22, and in Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes,* pl. 4,

[after 1693]

22.—Plan de la Ville, Baye et Environs de Boston dans la Nouvelle Angleterre.

ASH, 135-6-7.

This map is neither dated nor signed, but internal and external evidence point to Franquelin as its author.

1697

23.—Carte du grand fleuue Missisipi depuis sa source jusqu'a son Embouchure avec toutes les Rivieres qui y tombent ou est compris la decouuerte du Sr. le Sueur qui se rend sur les pays et nations de l'est et de l'ouest de ce fleuue à prendre depuis la Riuiere Ouisconsing en montant jusqu'a la source du même fleuue. Dressé, rectifié et dessigné par J. B. Louis Franquelin Hydr. & Geogr. du Roy, 1697.

The title is taken from Margry's tracing, in the Ayer Collection. I have not seen this map of Franquelin listed anywhere. Margry found it in the Delisle papers. Among the books, memoirs, manuscript or printed maps used by Claude Delisle for the map published in 1703 under the name of his son Guillaume, were some "Cartes de Canada de M. Franclin," ASH, 115-10:n. 17 M. In their lawsuit against J. B. Nolin who had plagiarized their globe of 1700, Claude and Guillaume Delisle presented as evidence, a "Copie de la Carte de tout le Canada faite par le sieur Franclin, copie d'autre Carte du même Autheur representant le pais des Sioux le long du Mississipi," BN, Mss. fr., 22119, page 5 of the printed copy.

Under the title as transcribed above is the following note: "J'y ai retranché en la copiant le bas de la riuiere a cause que M^r le Sueur m'a dit qu'il n'auoit pas esté plus loin que les Ilínois et [à cause] que le reste auec la R. des Osages n'estoit que sur la carte de Mr. de la Salle." From this note copied by Margry, it is of course impossible to determine from the handwriting whether it was written by Claude or by Guillaume Delisle, but it is highly probable that Claude wrote it, and this in spite of the fact that immediately below, there is another note by Joseph-Nicolas Delisle attributing the corrections in pencil to his brother Guillaume. This is not conclusive, because, time and again, he is attributing to his brother what was certainly written by his father.

As the title indicates, Franquelin received his information from Le Sueur as the latter was preparing to leave France for Canada in 1697. The map of La Salle mentioned in the note, was very likely a map of the Mississippi by the explorer which is also listed by Delisle as one of the sources of the map of 1703. The latest known map of Franquelin, that appropriated by Fonville (*supra,* no. 19), does not have the "R. des Osages." This shows that it was made earlier than the date which appears in the added cartouche; for on the map by Franquelin dated 1699 (*infra,* no. 24), that is, the same year as Fonville's, the Missouri is legended "'Riuiere des Emissourites ou des Ozages."

A note by Joseph-Nicolas Delisle on one of the preliminary sketches of the map of 1703, with corrections by Claude and Guillaume, also alludes to this map of Franquelin of 1697, AN, JJ, 75-153. These corrections were so numerous that the course of the Upper Mississippi was separately re-drawn and then pasted on the manuscript which was sent to the engraver.

1699

24.—Partie de l'Amerique Septentrionale
. . . Par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin,
Geographe du Roy 1699.
SHB, B 4040-12.

We took the above title from Harrisse, *Notes,* 214, no. 259, because we only saw the western half of this map in the Karpinski Reproductions. The cartouche in the upper left-hand corner is empty. The title, we surmise, is in the upper left-hand corner, for the lower part has a view of Quebec which is reproduced in Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes,* pl. 11. From top to bottom on the left-hand side is an insert entitled: "Cours du Grand Fleuve De St. Laurens depuis le Fort Frontenac jusqu'a Sorel." As the two termini indicate, the course of the river shown on this map is 125 miles shorter than on the map appropriated by Fonville.

In 1872, Harrisse, *Notes,* 215, no. 259, wrote that this map seemed to be a copy made by F. de la Croix, for Harrisse thought, at the time, that Franquelin had died before 1695, "when Jolliet seemed to have succeeded him as royal hydrographer." In his *Cartographie,* 15, published thirteen years later, Marcel said: "Jolliet was appointed professor of hydrography at Quebec, April 30, 1697, after the death of Franquelin." This surmise of the continuator of Harrisse becomes a fact in the text which accompanies his *Reproductions de Cartes,* 92, note 2: "Franquelin, as we have proved, died after January 16, 1697 [this is the date of the letter of Chevry to Lagny]. The date of the appointment of Jolliet as professor of hydropraphy at Quebec has long been known: April 29 [*i. e.,* April 30], 1697." Harrisse, however, was not the man to allow anybody, least of all Marcel, to draw conclusions unwarranted by the evidence. He consulted the *Alphabet Lafillard,* the source referred to. Jolliet was indeed appointed professor of hydrography at the date mentioned, he wrote in his *Evolution Cartographique de Terre-Neuve,* 332. "On [Marcel] en a conclu que Franquelin était mort à cette date. Lafillard, sur qui l'on semble s'appuyer pour cette supposition, ne dit rien de semblable. Ni dans l'un ni dans l'autre de ses Alphabets le nom de Franquelin ne se trouve mentioné avant 1701, date sous laquelle on lit [in the Alphabet Colonial, AC, D 2c, 222] à la colonne des nominations: 'Franquelin [prénom omis]. M^{e} d'hydrographie. Quebec, 18 mai 1701.'" Then Harrisse gives the

present map as further proof that Franquelin was still alive after 1697. This, he adds in a note, is the last-made of Franquelin's known maps. "We have not been able to discover the date of his death." We may add that Marcel had no reason whatever to suppose from the letter of Chevry to Lagny that Franquelin died after January 16, 1697, and before April 30 of the same year, for there is nothing in Jolliet's commission about his succeeding Franquelin, as royal hydrographer; according to M. Roy, Jean Deshayes held this post between 1693 and 1697.

The special interest of this map resides in the fact that we find expressed cartographically the account of La Salle's last journey as reported in the *Premier Etablissement de la Foy.* The names of the tribes and of the rivers—their course to the sea or to the Mississippi is conjectural—are taken from this book. The nomenclature of the Upper Mississippi differs little from that of the map of 1697. On many of his maps Franquelin locates the headwaters of the Mississippi much too high, on the one of 1699, he had the "Sources du Fleuve Missisipi" 700 miles north of their true position. It should also be noted that the delta is placed much farther east than on his previous maps.

1701

25.—Carte de la Nouvelle-France où est compris la Nouvelle angleterre, by Franquelin, 1701.

The title is taken from *Acadiensia Nova,* II, 132; the call-number is said to be C.-n. 8536. Only a small section extending not quite so far as the western end of Lake Ontario is reproduced; and in nearly every respect the geographical features and the nomenclature are the same as on the map of 1708, *infra,* no. 26.

The cartouche at the lower right-hand side has a "Veue de Quebec, a l'Est"; surmounted with the coat of arms of the Dauphin. In the upper right-hand corner is an "Avertissement," the import of which is the same as the one on the map of 1708.

On the map is affixed the stamp of the "Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Archives. *Dépôt Géographique.* No. . . ." The bibliographical indications in *Acadiensia Nova* are insufficient to determine whether it is one of the maps of the D'Anville Collection transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1924. It is not listed in W. G. Leland's *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris,* Washington, D. C., 1932.

1708

26.—Carte generalle de la Nouvelle France
dans l'Amerique Septentrionale. . . .
SHB, C 4044-10.

The dedication to Pontchartrain by "son tres humble, tres obeissant & tres fidele Serviteur Franquelin" is in a cartouche surmounted with the coat of arms of Pontchartrain. It takes the place of the view of Quebec on the map of 1701. Full title in Harrisse, *Notes,* 211-212, no. 248; facsimile in Marcel, *Reproductions de Cartes,* pl. 40, a section of which is reproduced in J. Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin,* Boston and New York, 1895, 77.

"This small map [550x440 mm.] admirably executed is evidently a reduction made in Paris, probably by F. de la Croix, for in the lower left-hand corner is the year 1708: at this date Franquelin had been dead for at least ten years," *Notes,* 212. As we noted above, Harrisse corrected his statement about the year of the mapmaker's death in his *Évolution Cartographique de Terre-Neuve,* and M. Roy has shown that Franquelin was still alive in 1712. This map is not by F. de la Croix. Its style, and a comparison with those of 1699 and 1701 would distinctly identify Franquelin as its maker even if it were not signed. The "Tombeau du Sr. de la Salle," and the "Tombeau du Sr. de Marne," singled out by Harrisse in his description, are already on the map of 1699, and more accurately placed.

"In a cartouche in the upper right-hand corner, there is a long legend in which the author says that this map is 'the result of [more than] twenty years of application and care, of traveling over the country shown thereon,'—this leads us to date the map 1692." The long legend is the "Avertissement" corresponding to the one on the map of 1701. As we noted at the beginning of this article, there is no evidence that Franquelin ever went farther west than Montreal. Now the country shown on this map stretches from the latitude of Hudson Strait to that of Mexico City; and its extent in longitude is half the width of the United States and Canada. He must mean, therefore, that he gathered his information from others who had traveled over the territory. As for the "more than twenty years" spoken of in the "Avertissement," the mapmaker is referring to the length of time during which he remained in Canada, scl., from 1671 to 1692.

"What also proves that the original of this map cannot be of 1708, is the fact that Pontchartrain is given the title of Secretary of State, a position which he was called to fill in September 1690, after the death of Seignelay; whereas in 1708, he was and had been since 1699, Chancellor of France." Marcel, *Reproductions de Cartes,* text, 134, repeats this argument of Harrisse. Both suppose that the map was dedicated to Louis Phélipeaux. It was in fact dedicated to his son, Jérôme Phélipeaux, who had been Secrétaire d'État since 1693, and Minister of Marine and of the Colonies since 1699, in which year, September 7, he relinquished "his name Maurepas to take that of Pontchartrain." E. Soulié *et al.,* eds., *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau,* 19 volumes, Paris, 1856-1860, VII, 146; and cf. AM, B 2, 141:295, the announcement made, September 6, 1699, by Jérôme Phélipeaux, Comte de Maurepas, to the intendants in France and in the colonies, that his father, Louis, had been made chancellor, and that he is to take the post of Minister of Marine with his father's title of Comte de Pontchartrain.

Internal evidence confirms what we have just said, for on this map are inscribed "Le Detroit," founded by Cadillac in 1701, "Fort Louis," [Mobile], founded by Iberville in 1702, etc.

As was previously noted, this map is similar to that of 1701 in all that pertains to the eastern part of North America. With regard to the Upper Mississippi, there is little progress over the map of 1699; the lower course of the river is still essentially the same as on the map of 1684. The main difference is that the delta is placed still farther east than on the map of 1699.

Franquelin delineation of the Mississippi below the Ohio was excusable in 1699, but not in 1708. In the latter year, it denotes a timorous conservatism that prevented him from discarding altogether the fantastic course of the great river as he had seen it on La Salle's map a quarter of a century earlier. Iberville, Bienville, and many others had by this time exposed La Salle's geographical hoax. This exposure had been translated cartographically by Delisle on his globe of 1700, on his map of America published the same year, and above all on the *Carte du Mexique et de la Floride* of 1703, which embodies the first scientific survey of the river from its mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony. This survey had been made by Le Sueur, the same man who had supplied Franquelin with data for mapping the Upper Mississippi in 1697.

CONCLUSION

There is little doubt that if it were possible to consult the various archival repositories in Paris more maps by Franquelin would come to light. Governor La Barre speaks of a map he sent to Paris in 1683, which had not been found. Claude Delisle had some of his maps which have not been discovered yet. From the letter of Chevry to Lagny, we know that he was kept busy by Vauban, very likely as a draughtsman of the plans of the forts built or to be built in France and in the colonies.

For all that pertains to the Great Lakes region and to the Mississippi Valley—the changes made in 1686 affect his drawings of Hudson Bay and the country northwest of Lake Superior—Franquelin's cartographical output may be divided into four groups. (1) Before 1684, he embodied in his maps the sketch of Jolliet. (2) After this date, for a quarter of a century, he simply repeated La Salle's delineation of the great river. (3) In 1697, he changed the Upper Mississippi after receiving information about this part of the country from Le Sueur. It is possible that on this map he inserted the geography of the *First Establishment of the Faith,* but this cannot be known until the lower part of the map is found. (4) After 1699, however, while the lower course of the Mississippi was still essentially the same as it is on his map of 1684, he inserted the geography of La Salle's last expedition.

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Alarms in History: An Editorial

Paul M. Angle, editor of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* opened the September 1942 number of the said *Journal* with an editorial on "Our National Ignorance." This was occasioned by the many newspaper editorials which commented upon the apparent apathy in schools of higher learning toward the study of United States history. Statistics gathered in a nationwide survey were alarming: 82 per centum of universities and colleges do not require the study of United States history for the undergraduate degree; 72 per centum do not require it for admission to college; ten per centum only of the total undergraduate students were enrolled in American history classes. The conclusions from these findings: the vast majority of our people remain ignorant of American history; they cannot truly love what they do not know and understand; they have not or will not have devotion to our American ideals and traditions; "there ought to be a law" enforcing the study of American history in our colleges.

On top of this comes more recent observations by educators in their conventions. One widely publicized commentator urged the dropping of "luxury courses" for the duration, specifying the classics and history as the heights in luxury, and urging historians and classics teachers to get into more useful occupations. All this is indeed saddening to lovers of history.

Some observations of a comforting nature should be offered to those who spend their lives grubbing for intimate details about the deeds of our departed forebears. We grant that an unhappy state of affairs exists, if only one interpretation of the statistics is considered. We have no quarrel, in fact we heartily agree with the attempt being made by the editorial writers to bring about a profound appreciation of our national life past and present. These many years we have been engaged in the task of trying to inculcate in students a desire to learn more of our history. We have bemoaned the advent of each successive fad course in history and political science and the widespread emphasis on studies of foreign systems of government and the critical treatments meted out to our own administrations. The lack of instruction in fundamentals, the lack of definitions, the prevalence of opinionation among the teaching body were added concerns. But there was always consolation in the picture of over 600 national, state, and local historical societies, of several hundred historical periodicals and publications, of several thousand scholars doing research in every field of human history, and of other thousands of history teachers in universities and high schools. Surely, the efforts of these, of state governments, of municipalities, of universities, and widespread library facilities, brought ample opportunity to all who wished to learn history. If there is national apathy and ignorance regarding history the causes seem to lie elsewhere than in the above-mentioned groups.

The term "United States history" as used in the editorials is sufficiently vague to permit controversy. We might distinguish between history as it is lived, history as it is studied, history as it is written, and history as it is lectured or taught. We refrain from further comment upon this, and we refrain much more diligently from discussing the *purpose* of history teaching, which is sometimes confused with *history* itself, and which suffers various changes according to the trend of the times. To avoid contributing more confusion with remarks about the *interpretations* of historical events we turn to the annoying statistics, always harbingers of an argument.

There could be a flat denial of the conclusions from those alarming findings. Because the large percentage of universities do not require a United States history *course* for degrees or for admission and because the enrollment in the subject is small (relatively or actually?), one cannot readily conclude that the vast majority of our people remain ignorant of their national history. One should not forget that the State requires high-school and grade-school students to take history and government. Furthermore, people learn much of our history in an effective way from books, articles, museums, displays, radio, music, drama, paintings, novels, lectures, travel, buildings, adult education programs, institutions, societies, roads, and monuments. More than ever do they come into contact with our machinery of government, our administrations, our state and civic affairs. From the constant flow of discussion on various subjects, trends, and policies of our national life, carried on by public address and press, much of our traditional mode of procedure is revealed in a manner more practical and vital than the classroom permits. Many younger people have no great liking for United States history *as it is taught* or as a discipline, but we challenge anyone to insinuate in the presence of these same young people that they do not love the United States.

Good, practical citizens are developed by means of studies other than history. Solid fellow men of our acquaintance are repeatedly stumped by youngsters asking questions about events which they have forgotten or never heard of. Many Americans in the armed forces, who are now making the history of this period of our nation's life, could not pass a fundamental academic examination in United States history, but they are protecting our land with their lives. It is our cherished hope that these same fighters will one day read in history books the history they have made. Yet, not to be too ironical, who would force them to carry pocket editions of United States history in their battles in Africa and the Solomons? In fine, love of one's country is frequently engendered by familiarity with the history and workings of some particular institution vital to national life. We think of a Marine's love of the Marine Corps, a Navy man of the Navy, a newspaper man of the press, a judge of the judiciary, and an industrialist of his industry, the medic of medicine; each of these and many others, devoting his entire time to the progress of a vital institution of our national life, considering with commendable pride that his unit or work is the finest of all, cannot be expected to keep abreast of all historical writing and have at his finger tips factual data on the Van Buren election, the Hartford Convention, the Greenback Party, the Export-Import Bank, and international relations with Venezuela. In this era of specialization many an history professor cannot read the output on United States history.

There should be no accusation of apathy against our schools of higher education with respect to fostering a love of our national life, simply because they do not regimentalize students into cut-and-dried history courses. Nor can there be any assurance that if they did so force students into a common mold, a greater love of our past would thereby ensue. It becomes quite a problem for educators to select the most suitable history courses for degree requirements or for emphasis, since there are a hundred lecture courses possible and available, each covering a pertinent phase of United States history. Perhaps the universities are at fault in having such a wide variety of electives open; perhaps they have been wrong in opening so many horizons of study. Or are the students at fault in not choosing history? Or are the schedule makers to blame for not appointing room in schedules for fundamental survey courses? Wheresoever the culpability may be placed by critics, the educators' lot is not a happy one in the democratic system to which we subscribe.

If knowledge of history (as obtained in classrooms) is a prerequisite for love of country or patriotism, we see something wrong with the statistics. The unconcern for United States history as revealed by the statistics should amount to eighty or ninety per centum, that is eighty out of a hundred people here cannot be patriotic and will not be patriotic because they did not or do not take formal history courses. Judging from the fashion in which our people are undertaking this war we have no particular brief for history, as formally taught, as the one and only patriot maker. While this United States remains the majority of Americans are going to love it in their own critical way, and they will produce generation after generation of young people, half of whom are going to "hate that American history," chiefly because of the quiz and examination.

Is there too much emphasis on European and other history? Some colleges require European survey courses for degrees. Why do they not substitute United States history? We agree that the history of our country should be given prominence in and out of the classrooms. Certainly, however, many students get a finer appreciation of our institutions merely by reading about the numerous troubles of Europe and by comparisons between our methods and those of Europe. Backgrounds are necessary. The textbooks on European history as used in our colleges are American textbooks. The instructors are American. Much of the history of America in recent times is unavoidably linked with that of Europe and the Orient, and, we might add, will be. If there had been more of an intelligent study of European and Japanese history, events of the present would have been as clearly foreseen by this nation as a whole as they were by those crying in the wilderness. Assuredly, give place to our history, but at the same time remember to apply two hard-headed business axioms: Keep your eye on the other nation, and, give other nations credit for having brains, no matter to what overt purposes such may be functioning. American history now has taken on global proportions, we may remark for those not acquainted with professorial dicta of the past decades. The big problem lies in discovering where and when American history begins and how to manage the very bulk of the story of our nation.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Notes and Comment

BOOKS

Books of timely interest and good quality have been forthcoming even during these fast-moving times. One such is *American Taxation, Its History as a Social Force in Democracy,* by Sidney Ratner, published by the W. W. Norton Company, New York, 1942; this explains the why, the wherefore, and the social effects of our federal taxation system from our origins to 1941. The brochure of essays published by Rutgers University last year under the title *Federalism and the Democratic Process,* contains addresses by Professors Roscoe Pound, Charles H. McIlwain, and Roy F. Nichols. Two interesting although not definitive biographies have recently appeared: *Mr. Churchill,* by Philip Guedalla, was issued by Reynal and Hitchcock, and *Cordell Hull: A Biography,* by Harold B. Hinton, comes from Doubleday, Doran and Company; many other writers will try their hands on these statesmen in years to come. *Airways: The History of Commercial Aviation in the United States,* by Henry L. Smith, was published fully illustrated by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1942. *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power,* by Nicholas J. Spykman, a publication of the Institute of International Studies of Yale University, will be stimulating reading to political philosophers of the Machiavellian school and will be amply disagreed with by those following St. Thomas; others who consider balance of power diplomacy and politics on their way out will have other points of argument. The books of varying quality on the Far East and on world affairs are too numerous to mention, too difficult to assess. Then, too, many articles and books offer plans for the postwar world order.

During 1941 and 1942 three volumes of the projected six on *The History of the State of Ohio* have come from the press. These are published by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, under the editorship of Carl Wittke. Volume I, *The Foundations of Ohio,* is by Beverley W. Bond. Volume II, *The Frontier State,* is by William T. Utter. Volume III, *The Passing of the Frontier,* is by Francis P. Weisenburger.

A History of Oklahoma, by Grant Foreman, was published last year at Norman by the University of Oklahoma Press. The single volume, well illustrated, has very interesting pen pictures of the colorful history of the boom times, following his account of the great hardships of the pioneer builders.

Indicative of the interest in Henry de Tonti is a booklet entitled *The Man with the Iron Hand—and Heart,* by Father Thomas A.

Meehan, which was published last year at Huntington, Indiana. In this modest pamphlet of forty pages are outlined the travels of the trail blazer from the time of his coming to America until 1698. With regard to one of Tonti's trips—his voyage to the Assiniboin country—it is certain that he left Michilimackinac for this area north of Lake Superior on August 8, 1695, but being delayed by contrary winds, he was forced to spend the winter somewhere on the shores of Lake Superior. Whether he actually reached the "Lac des Assiniboels" is not clear from the evidence. In passing it may be noted that the reason for undertaking this voyage as given by Frontenac in his letter to the Minister of the Colonies, is flatly contradicted by the man who allowed Tonti to leave for the North, by none other than Antoine Laumet, better known under the name of Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac. According to Cadillac, Tonti left Michilimackinac to join Iberville at Fort Nelson on Hudson Bay. Father Meehan closes his account of Tonti's travels with the year 1698, when the soldier came to the Arkansas River with the priests of the Foreign Missions. "For the next four years until his death from fever at Mobile in 1704, Tonti was to be associated with Iberville." This association was the occasion of several journeys down the Mississippi and into the interior. His voyage from Mobile to the Choctaw county is the most accurately described of all his inland journeys.

The Vatican Council and the American Secular Newspapers, 1869-70, by J. Ryan Beiser, is a doctoral dissertation published in the Catholic University of America series, Washington, D. C., 1941. It is a study of the reaction of newspapers in this country to the decisions of the famous Vatican Council, as expressed by editorials. The author gathers all the editorials, classifies them according to sections of the country, and according to their political affiliations, and makes a final estimate of the opinion of Americans on the great decisions of the Council. "The secular papers were owned and edited by Protestants, but not all were anti-Catholic, nativist and anti-papal" (p. 18). The papers hostile to the Council were those antagonistic to Catholicism in general. "The more Republican the paper was the more antagonistic it was to Catholicism" (p. 299). The Democratic papers, less hostile, mainly confined themselves to printing unfavorable cables and correspondence, since the Democrats were liberals. *The Baltimore Sun* alone defended the Council's actions, while some other papers remained neutral. Dr. Beiser gives his findings in a very readable manner, and has amplified his study by bringing in all necessary items pertaining to European and American politics of the time.

AIDS

Bibliographers have been busy during the past year. There is now a reprint of *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets, and Periodical Publications Printed in the*

United States from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 Down to and Including the Year 1820, in twelve volumes, by Charles Evans. The *Bulletin of Far Eastern Bibliography,* formerly mimeographed is now incorporated in the *Far Eastern Quarterly.* Several bibliographies listing books on Latin-American affairs are available either in book form or as cumulative publications, but the printed matter on this field accumulates almost too rapidly for classification. In fact, no one man can read and accurately classify and assess the many writings emanating in the United States on Latin America.

"Books in New Mexico 1598-1680," by Eleanor B. Adams and France V. Scholes appeared in the *New Mexico Historical Review,* July 1942.

Books on Trial, A Guide for the General Reader, made its first appearance in April 1942. This monthly magazine published by the Thomas More Library and Book Shop is designed to give to readers "the verdict of the grand jury on books," that is, it gives in chart form and in comments from reviews, the concensus regarding the merit of new books. In the graphs one can see at a glance if the book has been reviewed favorably or unfavorably by the majority of critics, if it is "a must" book or a run-of-the-mine, or if it is offensive. A list of the best books rather than a list of the best-seller type may thus be obtained by the general reader.

Guide to the Libraries and Archives in Central America and the West Indies, Panama, Bermuda, and British Guiana, by Arthur E. Gropp, is the tenth publication of the Middle American Research Series of the Middle American Research Institute of the Tulane University. Mr. Gropp, librarian of the Institute, has prepared this work according to the broad aim of the Institute to collect and make available information about the countries immediately south of the United States. Two years of travel and study were devoted to collecting data about public and private libraries and archives. The *Guide* lists 538 visited and 507 which could not be seen during the allotted time. He has arranged the book according to the political units of Middle America, beginning with Costa Rica's public libraries city by city, its private libraries, archives, bookbinders, booksellers, and printers. The *Guide* is supplemented with photo-offset pictures of libraries and with pertinent information about bookbinding, bookselling, and printing. Its index and bibliography bring the pagination beyond 700 pages. The printers have spared no pains in their art, employing modern sans-serif face type in various points from eight to thirty-six.

During the past decade a number of literary, historical, and scientific journals have appeared in Mexico which attest to a veritable intellectual renaissance in that country. It is notable that the best of these reviews are distinctively the product of the Mexican mind, with its rich intellectual heritage. Among these fine reviews attention is called to the literary review *Ábside,* too little known in this country, now in its seventh year under the able editorship of the Mexican humanist Dr. Gabriel Méndez Plancarte. Dr. Méndez Plancarte is the author of *Horacio en Mexico* (1937), *Humanistas del siglo XVIII* (1941), *Poemas inéditos del P. Juan Luis Maneiro, 1744-1802* (1942), and other humanistic studies which have opened up many new vistas in the intellectual and literary history of Mexico.

A preliminary edition of *Investigations in Progress in the United States in the Field of Latin American Humanistic and Social Science Studies,* edited by Alexander Marchant and Charmion Shelby, was published by the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress in 1942. The list of scholars and their studies runs 166 mimeographed pages.

CONFERENCES

The Institute of Latin-American Studies of the University of Texas has published in brochure the papers read at a conference on Latin-American culture last April 14 and 15 in Austin, Texas. The title of the brochure is *Cultural Bases of Hemispheric Understanding.* There are five papers, four of which are in English and in Spanish. Mr. Charles A. Thompson, chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State, writes "The Cultural Bases of Inter-American Solidarity," in which he enlarges upon three points: Cultural relations provide our own people with a realistic appreciation and comprehension of other peoples, and in consequence provide a more solid democratic basis for our international policy. Cultural relations develop in the minds of other peoples not necessarily a more friendly, but beyond question a more fair and accurate idea of us. Finally, the cultural program makes for more mutually helpful relations with other countries by developing the habit of planning and working together. Justino Fernández of the Institute of Aesthetic Research of the University of Mexico has a very enlightening paper on "The Source of American Art," or the source of artistic consciousness as exemplified in Mexico's past. Julio Jiménez Rueda, University of Mexico, hesitates about adopting a definite attack in his paper, "Contributions and Significant Features of Latin American Literature." Pablo Max Ynsfran, of Asunción, Paraguay, gives reasons why Pan Americanism should be adopted as a political vehicle to carry the American nations to their great destiny. Federico de Onís of Columbia University wrote on "Spain and the Southwest."

QUARTERLIES

The format of *The American Historical Review* has undergone a rather complete change, beginning with the October 1942 number. Its stature has diminished by three-fourths of an inch and its width by one-fourth of an inch. Its dimensions are now those of the magazine you have in your hands. The printed line is however one pica wider than that before you, or two picas wider than it was formerly. An excellent eggshell paper replaces the former glossy calender while the new binding permits the magazine to lie open at a given place. One can now relax while reading the contents, assured that his slightest movement will not cause the book to flip out of his hands. The new typography is likewise very pleasing. Those who struggled with the problems are to be congratulated on the reforms. There are fewer pages but still plenty to make each number seem a volume. Sixty pages are given to articles and suggestions, while the remainder to page 224 is devoted to reviews and recordings of publications and events. The next improvement will be to catch up on the book reviews, so that we can get judgments of works within a year of publication. A good beginning has been made in this first number of Volume 48, that is XLVIII.

Wisconsin Magazine of History likewise appears in a smaller size and new form beginning with the first number of its Volume 26. The cover in red and white has a frontispiece illustration. The new type is an adaptation of the Garamond type. The editor, Edward P. Alexander, has made the magazine pleasing to the eye. This number, September 1942, has among its timely and interesting contents the memorial to Louise Phelps Kellogg who died July 11, 1942. Dr. George Wilson Pierson publishes the first part of his findings about the present status of Turner's frontier hypothesis, giving in tabular form the constituent elements of the hypothesis, the arguments against it, and the arguments for it, with numbers of authorities backing each.

The Hispanic American Historical Review, August 1942, devoted its pages in the main to articles on Brazil. John Tate Lanning, the managing editor, turned over his editorial pen to Manoel S. Cardozo and Alexander Marchant for the number. The reviews, notices, documents pertain mostly to Portuguese and Brazilian affairs. Two of the articles by the co-editors are on phases of colonial history, and two are on more recent developments: the growth of the Brazilian-American friendship and the rise and collapse of the Amazon rubber boom. These pages with others in the same *Review* and six articles in the 1942 volume of MID-AMERICA are indications of trends in Latin-American scholarly studies. These each give hints as to the types of study possible in the great field of Luso-Brazilian history, and they indicate what great needs exist for writings in English on Portugal and Brazil.

The Pacific Historical Review, September 1942, carried an illuminative article by Lawrence C. Powell, entitled "Resources of Western Libraries for Research." This covers libraries in the western United States and Canada.

Book Reviews

The Flag of the United States. By Milo Milton Quaife. Grosset and Dunlap, New York, 1942. Pp. xiv, 210.

This little volume offers a simple story of our flag, stripped of myth and fancy. Its timeliness is beyond question, for misinformation is being disseminated even in publications sponsored by the government. By way of background the author sketches the evolution of the flag as a national symbol, and then tells the story of England's flag at home, and of the flags of Spain, France, Holland, and England in America. There follows a discussion of early revolutionary battle flags, our first national flag, and the development of the Stars and Stripes. Originally the Stars and Stripes was intended for use as a marine flag, not for a battle flag on land. Indeed, it was a familiar sight on the high seas for nearly half a century before it was introduced into the army ashore. As a matter of fact the only Stars and Stripes displayed by an American army in the Revolutionary War was a flag of red and blue stripes carried at Guilford Court House. Under a flag of fifteen stripes three of our wars were waged. Largely because of the endeavors of Peter H. Wendower of New York, on April 4, 1818, the flag was fixed at thirteen stripes and stars equal to the number of states. Even so, actual practice often failed to conform to official regulation. Of special interest are two chapters which, with scholarly composure, dispose of such fictions and myths as the use of the Stars and Stripes by our revolutionary armies, the significance of the colors of the flag, the arrangement of the stars, the age of the flag, and the popular legends woven around the names of Paul Jones and Betsy Ross. Banners of the Lost Cause are accorded a chapter. A number of plates, picturing the flags discussed, make it much easier to follow the text. This is a sober and scholarly treatment of our national emblem and its history that should correct many errors. Vigorous exception, however, must be taken to the statement that a citizen derives all of his rights and privileges from the state, for this is unadulterated totalitarian doctrine and practice from which we pray to be preserved.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College, Indiana

America in the New Pacific. By George E. Taylor. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1942. Pp. 156.

The above title is inspired by the understanding that "victory in this war depends on knowing what kind of a world we are fighting in and what kind of a world we are fighting for." The author's particular aim is to familiarize his readers with "the American type of Pacific expansion, the American concept of power. To see what America . . . has meant to the people of Asia." He further undertakes "to examine the enemy, . . . the strengths and weaknesses of the Japanese Monopoly State," and the meaning of Japan's ambitions to the Japanese and other Asiatics.

Why is there war between the United States and Japan? Professor Taylor answers: "Japan is trying to compel Asia to eliminate the West, not only as a political factor but also as an ideological factor." He considers the present struggle a kind of international civil war, whose outcome will decide the basic political and economic ideas by which the world shall be governed. America has exported to Asia Christian ideas and a social, political, and economic philosophy. The competition for leadership begun in 1853, started a struggle "which America of 1942 is compelled to finish."

Is Japan fighting Hitler's war? Certainly not. She is aware of German strength and knows "the ancient agrarian myths of her past." She has planned her own type of empire, in which all traces of American thought are to be obliterated. In this concept China and India must be brought into full partnership. While China nobly resists this Japanese Pan-Asian movement, her allies are warned: "The way in which China is treated by her allies will largely determine the way in which the peoples of Asia react to the cause of the United Nations."

There is no question of the versatility of the author in the Pacific field. The exposition of the Chinese internal political forces particularly radiates his personal Far Eastern experiences. He does not fear to express his opinion on the colonial question. "So long as colonies exist there will be those who fight for them." He implies the desirability of a good mandate system. The book is good, informative "non-fiction" for the average "educated reader."

Tibor Payzs

Loyola University, Chicago

Gabriel García Moreno y el Ecuador de su tiempo. By Richard Pattee. "Editorial Ecuatoriana," Quito, Ecuador, 1941. Pp. xx, 437.

In the opinion of this reviewer the present volume merits a very high ranking as a biography and history. Richard Pattee is well known for his activities in the Division of Cultural Relations of our Department of State. He has dwelt among the people of Ecuador about whose national development and national character he writes. In consequence of this association he has been able to tell the story of García Moreno with an intelligence and grasp of conditions rarely exhibited. García Moreno, "the good *caudillo*," has been batted back and forth pretty much as a volleyball by friend and enemy. But his newest biographer without fear of bulky partisan writings, or rather with a mature aloofness to the same, presents his findings in a thoroughly objective manner, basing his work upon documentary evidence of a worth-while nature. In a similar fashion Mr. Pattee calmly studies the history of Ecuador from its break with Great Colombia in 1830 to the death of Moreno in 1875.

The life of García Moreno beginning on Christmas eve of 1821, a few months before Ecuador was emancipated from Spanish rule, covers the period of special befuddlement in the development of any Spanish American republic. To gather materials and to trace the course of political thought or of constitutional progress or of the evolution of any republic from chaos to caudillism is an exceedingly trying task. Ecuador was no bright exception to the general rule. The manner in which Mr. Pattee has performed his task is, however, a bright exception to the manner in which others have attempted to untangle the like period of history for other countries. This biography was needed, because the martyr president has weighed until now by friend and foe on pre-adjusted scales. There is no doubt now that the patriotic García was a man of vision far ahead of the enlightenment in his country. In this lay his tragedy and that of his country. With all gratitude to Mr. Pattee for this volume in Spanish, we nevertheless hope to see his work in English for the wider help toward a better understanding of our neighboring nations.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682. Introduction and annotations by Charles Wilson Hackett, Translation of Original Documents by Charmion Clair Shelby. Coronado Historical Series, Volumes VIII-IX. The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1942. Pp. ccx, 262; xii, 430.

These volumes are the fourth and fifth to appear in the Coronado Historical Series, inaugurated in 1940 under the general editorship of Dr. George P. Hammond to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of Coronado's expedition of 1540, which was the first important step toward the Europeanization of the Southwest and the later formation of a unique and important cultural link between the two dominant culture groups of the Western Hemisphere. Of the projected twelve documentary volumes in the series, which give promise to constitute a comprehensive documentary history of New Mexico from 1540 to 1776 of basic importance for all future study of the history of the trans-Mississippi West in the colonial period, the three others already published are: *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542; First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692;* and *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778.* The tentative titles of the volumes yet to appear, some of which are near completion, are:

Coronado and the Turquoise Trail; New Spain after Coronado; The Benavides Memorial; Oñate, First Colonizer of New Mexico; New Mexico in the Latter Seventeeth Century; The Domínguez-Escalante Trail, 1776.

The Hackett-Shelby volumes contain in English translation all of the basic documents on the Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1680. These total over tow hundred separate items, and are arranged chronologically, dating from August 9, 1680, to June 25, 1682. The detailed introduction by Dr. Hackett, based on his doctoral dissertation of 1917, constitutes a useful running summary of the documents, although the footnotes could have been brought up to date at various points. Further elaboration of a few very minor details will eventually round out the story as here presented; but this work must necessarily serve as the starting point for all future study of this important episode in the history of the Spanish Southwest. These scholarly volumes are a magnificent contribution to Southwest studies.

J. Manuel Espinosa

Institute of Jesuit History

The Dominican Province of St. Joseph. By Very Reverend Victor Francis O'Daniel, O. P. The Rosary Press, Somerset, Ohio. Pp. xii, 517. 1942.

For many years now the name of Father O'Daniel has been familiar to readers of Catholic history. From his pen has streamed a long line of works dealing with Dominican history and with the lives of eminent Dominicans in this country. It would have been something in the nature of tragedy had the now aging prelate not been spared to write this crowning achievement of his career.

The true nature of this book is best indicated by its subtitle: *Historico-Biographical Studies.* It is historical because it traces the vicissitudes of the Province from its inception in Kentucky in 1808 to its present development. It is biographical, for the men, famous and unknown, who made the history of the Province are presented to us in a continuous series of interesting sketches. What might be regarded as the historical thread of the narrative is stronger for the earlier days, say to 1905, than it is for the remaining period. Similarly, the personal portraits end with those who entered the Province around 1886. While the emphasis, therefore, is on the history made rather than the history making, a final chapter brings the study to date by way of contrasting statistics. In 1905 the Province numbered 178 members and 17 houses; in 1938, there were 744 members and 45 houses, and missions in China and Lithuania..

The scholarly character of this work stands out on many a page. Here we have the veteran historian at his critical best. Archives are searched, documents are collated, tradition is garnered in. No pains are spared to verify a point or to destroy a misrepresentation.

The reader senses that for Father O'Daniel writing this book has been a labor of love. Even one slightly interested must be moved by the panoramic pageantry of Dominican labors in this country. Whence came these heroes of the cross? From almost every country in Europe, from Canada and our own United States. Some of these men wear a mitre; some sway the multitudes from the pulpit; others spend their days in the classroom; still others die the death of heroes and martyrs. Not all are paragons of virtue. Father Cubero was "possessed of an unbending will and temperament" (p. 92); the visitor, Father O'Carroll, "should have gotten new spectacles before trying to read the records" (p. 296, note); Father "Tom" Burke, the internationally famous preacher, sent to Rome misrepresentations about the Province that were "purely imaginative and subjective" (p. 305). Clearly, Father O'Daniel is writing history, not hagiography.

The style makes no pretensions to distinction; rather, it tends to be simple and homely. "Nice" and "good" are greatly overworked; ordinary adjectives like "brainy" and commonplace expressions like "he died in harness" are met. Appreciation of the style will vary according to taste. More subject to objective debate is a straightforward statement here and there.

This book cannot be neglected by the student of general church history in America, while it is necessary for any rounded treatment of the Church in Ohio. "From 1808 to 1824 the Dominicans, and they alone, sowed the seeds of faith with their labors and watered the growth of the young Church in Ohio with their tears" (p. 62).

Two appendices, one listing the houses of the Province and the other the superiors in the first century, a splendid bibliography, and a useful index complete the book.

FREDERICK E. WELFLE

John Carroll University, Cleveland

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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

APRIL 1943

VOLUME 25 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 14 NUMBER 2

The First Half Century of Brazilian History

The discovery of Brazil was but an incident in the effort of Spain and Portugal to obtain the trade in spices and drugs of the Orient. The race for the precious commodities resulted, as is well known, in the discovery of the American landfall by Columbus and others for Spain, and by Cabral for Portugal. The Portuguese had almost reached their goal in the Orient in 1488, when Bartholomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope and pointed the way to the navigation of the Indian Ocean. It was not, however, until ten years later, May 20, 1498, that Vasco da Gama dropped anchor in Calicut and gathered products of India for the return journey. His voyage accomplished what had been the dream of both nations, that of reaching the Indies by an all-sea route and of securing profits from Eastern wares which had previously gone to Venice.

It may well be realized with what satisfaction the king and people of Portugal received the news of da Gama's success, for they were a small nation and had little wealth. Furthermore, their men had reached India before the Spaniards. The products brought from his Indies by Columbus were insignificant compared to those sent back by da Gama. The Portuguese did not underestimate the dangers of the long way to India, which might make their losses greater than their gains, but with characteristic daring decided to send a second fleet. Financed partly by the crown and partly by private individuals this expedition consisted of thirteen ships and caravels. Some of these were commanded by noblemen, in order to impress the King of Calicut with the majesty of the Portuguese court, since Arabs had told da Gama that the far western kingdom was of no import and its entry into the trade of India no cause for fear. Other captains were among the best navigators in Portugal, some of whom had gone with da Gama. The entire fleet was placed under the command of Cabral.

Pedro Álvares Cabral was of a good though not over-prominent family. He was favored by both da Gama and the Court, partly because of the loyalty of his family to the king, partly because of his personal qualifications. He was charged to go to India, open commercial relations, establish a factory or trading post, and bring back the eastern products. For exchange he carried a cargo of copper, coral, quicksilver, European wares, and an ample supply of gold Venetian ducats. But the voyage was made not alone for material gain. The Portuguese felt that this new route to India had been shown them by the will of God, to permit them to instruct the people there in the observance of the Catholic faith, for da Gama had said they were Christians. Consequently, Franciscan friars went with the fleet taking religious articles necessary for services in the church. On its sails the fleet bore the red cross of the Order of Christ, of which Cabral was a member; the figurehead at the bow of the flagship was an image of our Lady of Hope. Besides, the voyage was to be in the nature of a crusade, since ships of the Arab infidels were to be destroyed if found on the high seas.

The fleet left Lisbon on March 9, of the jubilee year 1500. The advice of da Gama was of great value to those who had carefully prepared instructions for Cabral's guidance. Cabral could sail to the Cape of Good Hope by the best route, one almost identical with that now recommended for the passage of sailing vessels to the Cape, allowing, of course, for the bulkier ships of that day.

On Wednesday, April 22, land was sighted to the west. Cabral had intentionally swung wide to the westward from the Cape Verde Islands, and had by chance come upon Brazil[1] Uncertain whether it was an island or a mainland, those on the fleet named it Terra da Vera Cruz or Ihla da Vera Cruz. A landing was made. The inhabitants were friendly. On Friday morning the fleet sailed northward, and found a better harbor within a reef, which was named Porto Seguro.

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[1] Claims have been made that Brazil had been visited before by Europeans who did not return, by Duarte Pacheco Pereira in 1498, the knowledge of whose voyage was kept a secret by the king, or by Spanish navigators. This matter has been discussed by various authors. See especially W. B. Greenlee, *The Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil and India,* Hakluyt Society Publications, second series, No. LXXX, London, 1938; S. E. Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century,* Cambridge, 1940; Duarte Leite in Vol. I, Ch. 3, of the *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brazil,* 3 volumes, Pôrto, 1921-1924 (hereinafter cited as *Colonização*); Fidelino Figueredo, "The Geographical Discoveries and Conquests of the Portuguese," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* VI (February-August 1926), 47-70; Charles E. Nowell, "The Discovery of Brazil—Accidental or Intentional?" *ibid.,* XVI (August 1936), 311-338.

The Portuguese began to take the measure of the land and its people. The natives wore no clothes, but were painted and tatooed. Their heads received special decoration: mantles and coverings of bright feathers, labrets of bone and colored stones hanging from their cheeks and lips. They were cannibalistic with their enemies. Their houses were communal, built within a stockade.

Mass was said on Sunday and there was a sermon "which dealt with the discovery of this land and referring to the sign of the cross in obedience to which they came." On the following Friday, May 1, Mass was again celebrated, this time at the foot of a large wooden cross which bore the royal arms. A small storeship was then sent back to inform the Portuguese of the discovery. The commander, Gaspar de Lemos, carried two letters to the king; one by Pedro Vaz de Caminha gave a vivid picture of the people, the land, and the visit; the other was by Master John, the king's astronomer. We do not know exactly when de Lemos reached Lisbon, but it was probably early in July. The day after his departure, May 2, Cabral left Brazil.

News of this discovery greatly interested the Portuguese, and King Manuel decided to send a small fleet to learn its extent and its possibilities for development. A wealthy Florentine merchant, Bartolomeo Marchioni, who resided in Lisbon, evidently became interested in learning its commercial value. Furthermore, a group of newly converted Jews, or New Christians, viewed the far-off land as an opportunity not only for trade but also as a likely refuge from persecution in Portugal. Since King Manuel sought to economize in every way at this time to obtain funds for the India fleets, the second voyage to Brazil may be considered largely as a private venture. It was financed chiefly by Marchioni and the New Christians headed by a prominent shipowner in Lisbon, Fernão de Loronha, who probably went as the commander.[2] It seems evident that the Florentine, Amerigo

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[2] The names of several persons have been mentioned as the commander of this fleet, namely: Gaspar de Lemos, André Gonçalves, Gonçalo Coelho, Nuño Manoel, and Fernão de Loronha. While Vespucci's name has been associated with this voyage and that which followed there is no claim that he was the commander. Gaspar de Lemos had returned from Brazil in a storeship, one which Cabral could most easily spare. While he had had experience on this voyage both to and from Brazil there is no

Vespucci, also was among the notables present on this voyage.[3]

The fleet was composed of three caravels. It left Lisbon about the middle of May, 1501. After securing a store of salted fish along the African coast it anchored in the Bay of Beseguiche, the present Dakar. Here it met two caravels of Cabral's fleet returning from the East. From the Italians in one of these an account was obtained, not only of the voyage of Cabral's fleet to Brazil but also of its progress to the Cape of Good Hope. The little fleet then sailed westward through and to the south of the doldrums. Passing the Island of Fernão de Loronha on August 10, the feast of St. Lawrence, it moved with the strong winds until a landing was made at the little bay of São Roque, near the eastern top of Brazil. From there the caravels worked their way eastward briefly, then rounded the easternmost bulge of Brazil and continued south along that coast.

It is not known exactly where the shore was left, but it may have been near the excellent harbor of Cananéa which is the southernmost place shown on the earliest maps. Here the fleet seems to have divided. Fernão de Loronha returned northward and after landing at the island bearing his name on St. John's

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document to show that he went on the second voyage. In his *Lendas da India* Gaspar Corrêa states that André Gonçalves was the commander. Corrêa, however, wrote in India at a later date and his accounts of the early voyages cannot be considered accurate. Gonçalo Coelho was the commander of the next fleet and there is no contemporary authority who gives him this position in the voyage of 1501-1502. The name of Nuño Manoel was suggested by the historian Adolfo de Varnhagen, but his authority seems too indefinite to warrant the claim that this courtier was the commander. Fernão de Loronha has documentary evidence in his favor. He was the head of a group of New Christians who evidently went on the voyage and on January 16, 1504, (and thus before the return of the third voyage) was granted a donation by the king of the island along the coast of Brazil bearing his name as a reward for his discoveries.

[3] The Vespucci bibliography is very large. The *Lettera* and the *Mundus Novus* are given in translation by George T. Northrup in Volumes IV and V respectively of the *Vespucci Reprints, Texts and Studies,* Princeton, 1916.

Vespucci had been to the northern coast of South America previously, as is well known, and had learned something of the inhabitants and products. Our chief information regarding the participation of the New Christians on this voyage is from letters ascribed to Vespucci. While these letters cannot be relied upon completely, they give glimpses from which a narrative of the voyage can be partly reconstructed.

The originals of these letters have never been found. Two are known only from printed copies. The *Mundus Novus* tells only of this voyage and the collection of four voyages, of which this is the third, is generally designated as the *Lettera.* These were evidently first printed in Italy and were widely circulated in Europe through translations. An edition of the *Lettera* published in Latin in 1507 accompanied a small book on cosmography known as *Cosmographia Introductio* in which the name America was first suggested for the western continent. With this edition also there appeared a beautifully engraved world map by Waldseemueller where Vespucci is placed on an equality with Ptolemy. Two other letters telling of

Day, June 25, 1502, reached Lisbon by way of the Azores. Vespucci, however, evidently sailed southeast with the variable winds, then catching the strong westerlies was borne northward with the southeast trades and arrived at Lisbon on July 22. This passage was evidently recommended to him by those on Cabral's fleet. From another source we learn that Vespucci was in Seville on October 3, 1502, resting from his voyage, and that the New Christians had secured a contract for three years, which was evidently exclusive, for the trade in dyewood and slaves from Brazil and stipulating that six ships should be sent each year, that 300 leagues of the shore should be explored each year, and that a fort be established and occupied there during this period. In a later document it is stated that this contract was made in favor of Loronha.

Vespucci returned to Lisbon and we next hear of him as a captain in a fleet destined for Malacca, under the command of Gonçalo Coelho. This consisted of a ship carrying the cargo for

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Vespucci's participation in this voyage are known only in manuscript copies made in Florence before 1514. All of these letters are stated to have been addressed to Piero Francesco de Medici except the *Lettera* which is thought to have been directed to Piero Soderini, Golfoniere of Florence. There are thus three accounts devoted entirely to this voyage and one more telling of the early portion. It can be stated with reasonable certainty that these letters were not written by Vespucci, at least in their present form, and it is doubtful whether they were received by the prominent personages to whom it is stated they were addressed. It is more reasonable to suppose that they were derived from information received either from Spain or in Florence and printed by enterprising publishers in Italy to appeal to public interest. It was because of the wide circulation of the two pamphlets printed both in Italian and in translations that the name of Vespucci came to be connected with this voyage. In the Vespucci letters no locations are mentioned except Cape St. Augustine, and while the descriptions of the natives show some knowledge of a voyage subsequent to that of Cabral, the statements regarding their customs as well as of the animals and products found there are so confused that they are of little value.

In addition to the letters, maps drawn in the first decade of the sixteenth century are of great assistance. These early maps pertain almost exclusively to Brazil, and it was on maps of Brazil that the name America was first shown. Questions relating to the two lines of demarcation dividing the non-Christian world between Spain and Portugal, namely those determined by the Bull, *Inter caetera,* of May 4, 1493, and the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed 1494, also belong to the early history of Brazil in so far as the Atlantic line is concerned. On these maps the coast line usually indicates a discovery from the Angra de São Roque (3°S.) to the west of the cape now bearing that name but which was originally called Cape Santa Crucis to Cananéa to the south. Cape São Agustinho was not originally shown, this name evidently having been inserted after the letters of Vespucci were published. Along the shore a series of place names are shown, usually those of feast days, apparently coinciding with the voyage of 1501-1502. There are other names, however, which indicate later voyages and information available in Lisbon prior to 1505. Similar place names are given in the pilot entitled *Esmeraldo de situ Orbis* written by Duarte Pacheco Pereira shortly after that date. This question is discussed by Duarte Leite in *Colonização,* II. Ch. 13.

trade and five caravels. It was evidently the intention to follow a course similar to that taken by Cabral to Brazil and to leave one of the caravels there together with materials for a fort and a colony of twenty-four New Christians in compliance with the contract above referred to. What we know of this voyage, except for a short statement by the historian Damião de Góis, is given as the fourth voyage of Vespucci, which is to be found in one of the printed pamphlets known as the *Lettera* previously referred to. The account of this voyage may be the most accurate of any of those contained in this letter. It there states that the fleet departed from Lisbon on May 10, 1503, and after an uneventful voyage reached the Cape Verde Islands. Here, according to Vespucci, the commander insisted on proceeding to Sierra Leone, much against the will of the other captains, who did not wish the proposed voyage to Brazil to be abandoned, but no landing was made because of bad weather. Coelho may have had in mind leaving the New Christians there to save time so as not to miss the monsoon for India. The statement is made in the Vespucci letter that the fleet then proceeded S.W to an island located at 3° S. This has been thought to be the Island of Fernão de Loronha. It seems more reasonable, however, that the 3° there given should be 8°, for there are similar typographical errors elsewhere in this pamphlet. Since the Island of Ascension is in the latter latitude the course of the voyage then becomes clear.[4] It was here that the flagship containing the cargo for trade was wrecked. Three of the caravels then returned to Lisbon,[5] and two, that of the New Christians and another commanded by Vespucci with material for these colonists saved from the flagship, proceeded to Bahia de Todos os Santos, which was evidently the first port in Brazil to be reached according to the original plan.

Two months were spent here exploring the bay and the adjacent coast. This location was not suitable for the fort, and furthermore there was little of the desired brazilwood[6] to be found there. The caravels then sailed directly to the Island of Cape Frio which had evidently been visited previously. Here the fort was erected and the New Christians established a little settlement, the first in Brazil. After an exploratory journey inland, the caravels were loaded and one or both returned to Lisbon. This site was found to be an excellent one for trade, hence, at the expiration of his contract, Loronha and his associates secured another for a period of ten years.

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[4] The suggested change in the course of this voyage further explains the coast line of Brazil as shown in the world map thought to have been obtained by Alberto Cantino in 1502. It seems reasonable that, while not questioning the fact that Cantino took with him an excellent map of the new discoveries from Portugal in 1502 and that it was the one which reached Duke Hercule d'Este in Ferrara about Christmas of that year, the map now in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena is not the one referred to. This was evidently made by an Italian map maker, probably about 1508, from an early Portuguese source. The note that it was the one brought by Cantino which appears on the back of the map is written in a later hand, as are also many of the notations relating to Brazil on the map itself. It is the writer's hope to discuss this matter more fully in a later article.

[5] That Coelho returned to Portugal is shown by the fact that he received the position of Receiver of Excises from the king before 1505.

Other Portuguese traders, however, came to Brazil to take back dyewood, slaves, *cassia fistula,* parrots, monkeys, and other animals as well as skins. These, too, were private ventures of which few records remain.[7] The best account of one of these trading voyages is that of the ship *Bretoa.*[8] There are indications that a fort was erected near Pernambuco as well as at Cape Frio. Elsewhere these products seem to have been assembled at native villages or at safe harbors for expected ships.

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[6] An excellent work on this subject is that of Bernardino José de Souza, *O Pau-Brasil na Historia Nacional,* São Paulo, 1939.

This so-called brazilwood had been known for centuries as a source for a red dye coming from the tropical regions of Asia, where it went under various names. The Venetian merchants who brought it to Europe called it *verzino*. The Spaniards had found it in the West Indies and along the coast of the Guianas. It was then brought to Seville and continued to be a source of competition between the traders who brought it from Rio de Janeiro to Rio Grande do Norte. The best came from the vicinity of Pernambuco and as far north as Cabo São Roque. It was found both along the shore and inland. The section to the south from which this wood was chiefly exported was near Cape Frio. Little was obtained in Bahia. There were other varieties of dyewoods which produced dyes of different shades, so that the colors had to be carefully matched. The logs of this dyewood were ground in Europe and then left to ferment. The color was then ready for use. Besides the different varieties of woods used for dyes others were undoubtedly exported to France particularly for furniture and parquetry.

[7] Damião de Góis devotes a chapter in his *Chronica do . . . Rei D. Manoel . . .*, third edition, Lisbon, 1749, Part I, Ch. 56, 69-73, to a description of Brazil. He there states that in 1513 George Lopez Bixorda "had the trade of the brazil wood which they bring from this land of Santa Cruz." The author then goes on to describe a meeting of the king and Bixorda, who had with him three natives of Brazil, during which His Majesty had a talk with them by means of an interpreter regarding their life there.

[8] This was undertaken by Bartolomeo Marchioni, Benedito Morelli, his nephew, Fernão de Loronha, and Francisco Martins. It left Lisbon on February 22, 1511, and after a delay along the African coast for a supply of fish reached Brazil near the river São Francisco. A stop was then made at Bahia, where some supplies were stolen, and it came to anchor at Cape Frio, the destination, on October 26. A complete account exists as given by the *escrivão* of the voyage who includes the instructions, a tally of the cargo of dyewood loaded, a list of the parrots, monkeys, and other pets obtained by the crew as well as thirty-five slaves to be taken back to Lisbon, and a great deal of information regarding the method employed

Trade was through barter, and the Indians willingly exchanged their products for trinkets, iron implements for cutting the dense dyewood logs, fishhooks, chickens, and wearing apparel to replace the feather decorations, which were secured with considerable effort, and other articles which appealed to their simple tastes. Their own commodities were either carried to their destination or loaded on their boats and rafts from along the shore, from the rivers leading to the coast or, as was the case at Cape Frio, from back waters connected by portages. Most of this labor was thus voluntary and it was not to become compulsory until the demands for barter became so excessive that slavery seemed to become necessary. Though a few Indians were carried to Europe with the trading ships, true slavery was first introduced by the Indians themselves by compelling the more backward tribes, with whom they had been in constant warfare, to work for them rather than to submit to their cannibalistic ceremonies, and forays were made to secure them. But slaves and convicts necessitated supervision and it was not until the establishment of sugar plantations that either could be effectively employed. Negro slaves had not been introduced to any extent in Brazil during the period of the dyewood trade though a few were brought on the ships as servants. Their introduction coincided with the production of sugar because they were found to have greater endurance, to be more easy to control and they could be kept separated from the Indians who had more ready means of escape.

The life of the Portuguese traders and artisans who remained in Brazil was a frontier culture. They collected the cargoes, associated with the natives, living much as they did, and they had little to look forward to except the coming of the cargo ships from home. Some deserted their comrades to live as men of authority with the Indians. We have a record of a few of these who later were of assistance to their countrymen. Notable were João Ramalho,[9] who settled inland from São

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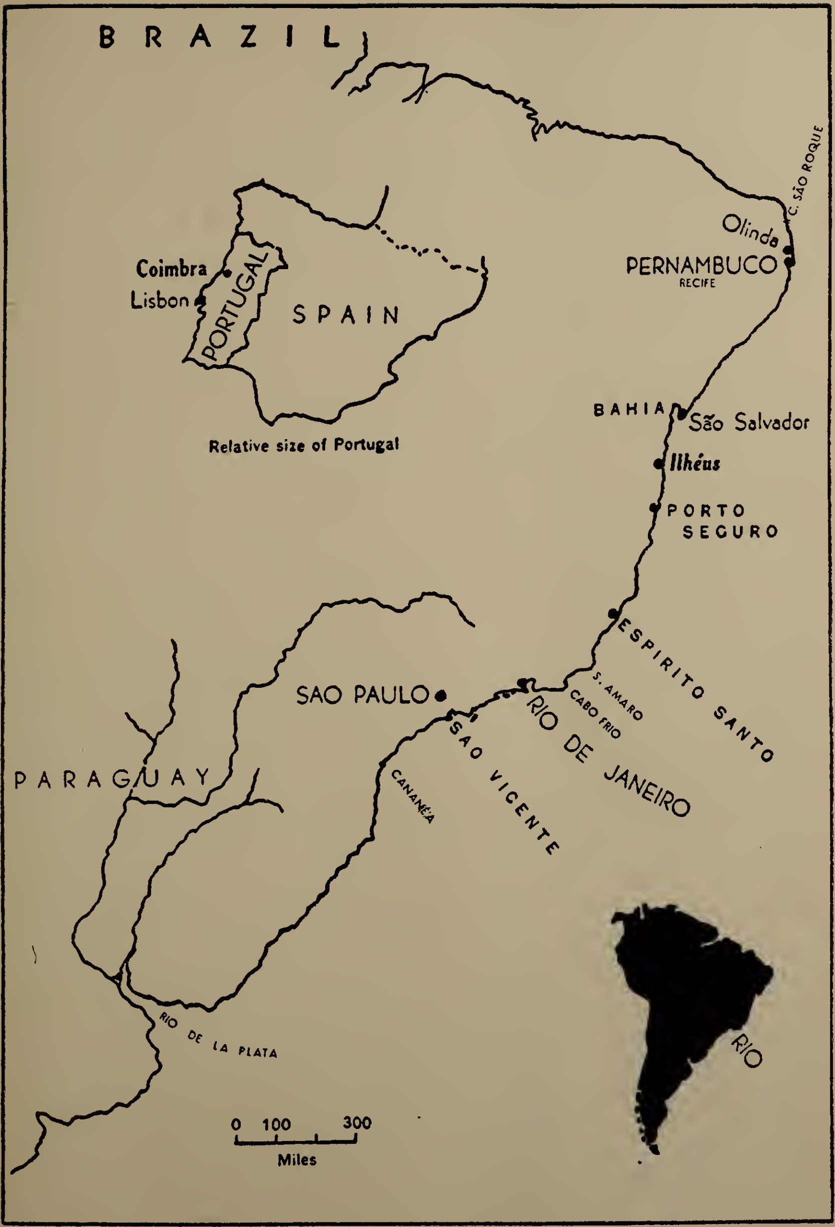
in this trade. The factor had assembled some 5,000 logs of brazilwood which were loaded during the time the vessel remained. While the objects used for barter are not mentioned, the regulations strictly forbade exchange with the Indians for tools provided them for cutting logs. The complete document is given in *Colonização,* II, 343-347, and an excellent summary by A. Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery,* Baltimore, 1942, 34-38.

[9] A great deal has been written concerning João de Ramalho and the place he occupied in the history of the foundation of São Paulo. Of especial interest are the note by Rodolpho Garcia in Adolfo Varnhagen, *Historia Geral do Brasil,* third edition, 5 volumes, São Paulo, n. d., I, 115-117, and the articles in Vols. IX and XXIX of *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* and in *Colonização, passim.*


BRAZIL
C. SÃO ROQUE
Olinda
PERNAMBUCO
RECIFE
Coimbra
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Relative size of Portugal
BAHIA
São Salvador
Ilhéus
PORTO SEGURO
ESPIRITO SANTO
S. AMARO
CABO FRIO
RIO DE JANEIRO
SAO PAULO
SAO VICENTE
CANANÉA
PARAGUAY
RIO DE LA PLATA
0 100 300
Miles
RIO

Vicente, Diogo Álvares,[10] the "Caramurú" in Bahia, and the so-called "bacharel" of Cananéa. For their protection these Portuguese traders were obliged to side with the Indians in their warfare on other tribes. This was particularly true in conflicts which occurred with the French interlopers. While the Indian tribes along the coast had common language and customs they were usually bitter enemies and their hatred for each other was often greater than that toward the Europeans who were often drawn into their conflicts.[11] The two tribes with whom the traders came in contact were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins. The former aided the French, who were also engaged in this trade, while the latter helped the Portuguese.

The French had engaged in the dyewood trade at an early period, possibly as early as 1504. The assertion of some French historians that Brazil had been visited by Jean Cousin in 1488 cannot be accepted nor can it be believed that Binot Paulmier de Gonneville's voyage in 1503, as related in a law suit in the middle of the seventeenth century, is authentic. These corsairs from Honfleur and Dieppe were a constant menace not only to the Portuguese traders in Brazil but also to the India ships along the African coast. The Portuguese ambassador at the French court remonstrated in vain and was told that these interlopers did not sail with royal sanction. The French thus secured the valuable woods they needed without paying customs duties in Portugal, and the Norman and Breton towns became increasingly wealthy. Many of the French ships visited Bahia where brazilwood was not plentiful, but it is reasonable to suppose that other fine woods were found for parquetry. In addition to these French corsairs, ships of other nations came occasionally to the Brazilian coast.

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[10] The life of Diogo Álvarez, known as Caramurú, who occupied a position somewhat similar to João Ramalho and Rodrigues in São Vicente is clouded in greater mystery. He seems to have arrived in Bahia about 1510 and given aid to the Portuguese there, but the story of his having gone to Paris with his wife, Paraguazu, where she was christened Catherine, the king and queen acting as godparents, as told in prose and poetry, need not be taken too literally. Cf. Pedro Calmon, *Historia do Brasil,* 2 volumes, São Paulo, 1939-1941, I, 129-133.

[11] During the period when the European traders sought the aid of the Indians, they worked for them voluntarily for bartered goods. The land was still theirs and its products were disposed of by them. With the coming of the colonists there was a different attitude. The Europeans then considered that the land and its products were their property by a donation from the king for which they paid handsomely. The attitude of these newcomers, many of whom were soldiers who had fought in India, was not understood by the natives and resentment was secretly harbored or openly expressed. There is little wonder that there were uprisings and destruction of property by these Indians who had been accustomed to lead a life of freedom without restrictions. These problems are well analyzed in Marchant, *Barter to Slavery.*

An event which occurred in the East in 1511 again brought Brazil to the direct attention of Europe. During the decade which followed the voyage of Cabral the Portuguese had been consolidating their gains in the Indian Ocean. Francisco de Almeida in 1505 had enunciated a policy of control of the Indian seas rather than the conquest of its shores. He was soon followed by Afonso de Albuquerque who endeavored to close all access except by the route around the Cape of Good Hope. The Red Sea was placed under Portuguese control, Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf was taken, and finally Malacca on the Malay Peninsula was captured in 1511. Malacca was the emporium of Eastern trade, for here were collected the porcelains and silks from China, the cloves and nutmegs and other spices from the Moluccas, jewels from Burmah, cinnamon from Ceylon as well as the products of India.

The news of this conquest was spread through Europe and came to the ears of Ferdinand in Spain. It brought to mind the fact that the line of the Treaty of Tordesillas might extend to the opposite side of the globe and that Malacca might be within the Spanish sphere. Juan Díaz de Solís, one of his navigators, even hinted that it might pass through Ceylon. At least some of the Spice Islands were evidently theirs. Access from the West was opposed by the Portuguese as contrary to the Treaty, so why not reach the Indies by a western route by way of America, and Malacca could be but a short way beyond? The coast of Brazil became again of interest and was thus coveted by the Spaniards, as well as by the French, for they sought an opening in its shore to the westward, a strait to Malacca! To find such a waterway, then, Solís sailed along the Brazilian coast and reached the fresh waters of the River Plate in 1516, and there was slain. The rest of his fleet returned by the same route taking on a cargo of brazilwood. In 1519 Magellan also cruised along the Brazilian shore on his successful voyage of discovery, and following him three other voyages sailed to the Philippines by this route. This course was given up later for the shorter one by way of Panama. German merchants at this time handled much of the export trade from Lisbon and Antwerp, and it is not strange that the commerce in dyewoods of Brazil, as well as the finding of a new route to the Indies, in which they had substantial financial investment, should have been of interest in Augsburg, the headquarters of this German trade. In that city there appeared an undated pamphlet by an anonymous author entitled *Copia der Newen Zeitung auss Presillg Landt,* of which three editions are known. A manuscript copy of a similar text to this, but containing more definite information has recently been discovered. In this the date 1515 is given for the account and the author tells, in a very confused way, of a Portuguese voyage to the Argentine in 1514, hence two years before its discovery by Solís. There is also a letter written by the Spanish ambassador to John III dated December 14, 1531, in which he asks that there be included in the Instructions given to Martim Afonso de Sousa an order that he should not discuss controversial matters regarding this previous discovery, with the Spaniards whom he might find in the River Plate. He further asks that information be furnished regarding a voyage of Nuño Manoel to that region during the reign of King Manuel. The question of the prior discovery by the Portuguese of lands to the south is one which has never been satisfactorily settled. In 1525, Sebastian Cabot, also in the service of Spain, followed the Brazilian shore to the River Plate.

The stories of all these navigators as to the life in Brazil and the Indians found there are similar to those of the traders, as given in Portuguese sources. The stay of many of the Europeans along the coast was probably temporary. Yet even though intercourse with the Indians was not extensive contacts necessitated some means of verbal communication, wherefore it is probable that a *lingua franca* was introduced whose effects on the Portuguese language in Brazil still remain. There are no evidences that the traders brought their families with them. As a result there followed a mixture of the white and Indian and the foundations of the mameluke population which was to aid in the later colonization. There was practically no civil or criminal law, and the traders did much as they wished. Venturesome spirits withdrew from the pale of European civilization, joined Indian tribes and adopted their customs. Outlawry was somewhat limited, however, by the fact that traders in Brazil were still under the jurisdiction of their employers in Lisbon. For those who became settlers in Brazil, there was also little spiritual supervision, as will be explained later. New Christians may have reverted to their Jewish rites and felt free to worship as they pleased. It has been suggested that some had preferred to join the Indian tribes and live a life of freedom.[12]

Life merely followed the natural course dictated by the exigencies of the place. The chief excitement for the Portuguese settlers and traders was the encounter with Indians and French corsairs. As the forests of dyewood were cut back from the shore and its procurement became more costly, added interest was shown toward the development of sugar plantations. A few attempts were made but these were only temporary experiments. During the reign of King Manuel, which closed in 1521, and during the first ten years of that of John III the trade was almost exclusively in dyewood. This alone was profitable, enough so to make it increasingly evident that if the Brazilian shore was to be preserved to Portugal, she must make a definite effort to hold it.

John III realized this through reports from his ambassador at the French Court.[13] On February 11, 1526, João de Silveira, who held this office, sent word that a fleet of ten ships was being assembled at French ports, whence they were to proceed to Brazil. A Portuguese armada under the command of Cristovão Jacques consisting of a ship and four caravels was ordered to intercept the French. Ten years previous, in 1516, and again in 1519, voyages had been made to patrol the coast for the same purpose, probably commanded by Pedro Sapico and this same Cristovão Jacques. Now the traders were becoming more and more bold. The chief seat of this trade was in Dieppe where Jean Ango and his son amassed considerable wealth, yet it was also reflected in Rouen, the commercial center of France. In spite of great activity, very little of the French activity is known except as given in the account of Jean Parmentier.[14]

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[12] Afrânio Peixoto, in *Os judeus na historia do Brasil,* Rio de Janeiro, 1936, 10.

[13] The French also were to make renewed efforts to hold the land which they had begun to feel was theirs and they too were to redouble their efforts to establish in Brazil the *La France Antarctique* of their dreams.

[14] There are almost no documentary records of these voyages except the account of the captain, Jean Parmentier, but it is known that the Angos amassed large fortunes. Bas-reliefs exist in the church of St. Jacques at Dieppe and in Rouen showing the methods used in collecting dyewood in Brazil. So proud were the Normans of their trade in Brazil that in Rouen a special performance in a fête was given in 1550 for the benefit of Henry II and Catherine de Medici. Here the native life in Brazil was displayed by fifty Indians and by nearly two hundred fifty Norman sailors who were dressed to imitate them. Cf. Marchant, 29, note 12, 42, note 66; Ferdinand Denis, *Une fête Brésilienne célebrée à Rouen en 1550,* Paris, 1851.

What is known of the early English voyages to Brazil is to be found in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and*

The expedition of Cristovão Jacques in 1526 followed the coast to the River Plate and then returned northward.[15] The ship was then laden with dyewood and returned to Portugal. The caravels, far more useful as coast guard ships, remained. These encountered a French fleet consisting of three ships in Bahia, which they destroyed and took some 300 of those on board as prisoners. The news of this attack caused great resentment at the French court but a settlement was arranged by King John. This incident, however, did not deter the French from continuing to endeavor to establish themselves in Brazil. The French claimed the freedom of the seas in the South Atlantic while Portugal insisted on its monopoly. To maintain this monopoly force was necessary. Yet Portugal did not wish to enforce its claims with France by war in Europe, so any infringement of what the Portuguese believed were their rights in Brazil must be defended there. In December 1531, another French ship, *La Pelerine,* left Marseilles with the license of Francis I, carrying eighteen guns, soldiers, and equipment for the construction of a fort and settlement near Pernambuco. Here the Portuguese were defeated. The Frenchmen, returning to France with a full cargo, were captured by the Portuguese and taken to Lisbon. There is a record of the trial which was then held giving information of interest regarding the factory which had existed in Pernambuco.[16]

Discoveries of the English Nation, Glasgow, 1903-1905, with supplementary documents in John William Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1540-1560,* Hakluyt Society, Second Series, LXXXVI, 1941-1942, and in the works of James A. Williamson. The maritime relations between the English and French at this period were friendly and in their voyages to Brazil the English copied their neighbors. William Hawkins, the Elder, made a voyage to Guinea and from there to Brazil in 1530 and repeated this voyage in 1531 and 1532. There are indications that he also made similar voyages in 1536 and 1540. In all of these he sailed from Plymouth in the *Paul,* a ship of 250 tons. There is a record of the cargo carried on the voyage which left Plymouth February 24, 1540. This consisted of 940 hatchets, 940 combs, 375 knives, copper lead, and 19 dozen nightcaps. On its return on October 20, of the same year, the cargo consisted of 92 tons of brazilwood and a dozen elephant's "teeth." The cargo taken from Brazil was similar to that from Guinea as indicated in the voyage to Brazil made by an Anglo French syndicate which sailed from Dieppe in 1539 for Brazil in the *Saviour* and *Wolfe.* Swords, daggers, axes, knives, combs, glasses, fish hooks, sheets, caps, and pieces of iron were then taken to exchange for brazilwood. A similar voyage was made to Brazil in 1540 which sailed from Brazil with a French pilot. When the demand for African slaves arose in Brazil the triangular trade by way of Africa continued. Cargoes of goods for barter were then taken from Europe to Africa, with slaves to Brazil and then dyewood taken back to the home port.

[15] An account of the expedition by Antonio Baião and C. Malheiro Dias is given in *Colonização,* III, Ch. 2, 59-94.

[16] Greenlee, *Voyages of Cabral,* lxvi-lxvii; Marchant, 38-39, n. 55; Jordão de Freitas, "O descobrimento pre-Colombino da América Austral pelos

To review the situation in Portugal, it must be remembered that in the time of King Manuel, the Brazilian trade was to a large extent lost sight of by the Portuguese because of the greater wealth which was flowing to Lisbon from the East. The Court of Manuel became one of the most ostentatious in Europe in contrast with the austerity of that of his predecessor. When John III ascended the throne in 1521, conditions had changed. The needs for spices and drugs in Europe were better satisfied, prices had greatly lowered, and increasing expenses in India and the necessary costs involved in keeping peace with the natives and security for the factories there became serious. John III was very religious and became more and more sympathetic with a group of reformers in the college of Santa Barbara, one of fifty such institutions which were collectively known as the University of Paris. This college was presided over by Dr. Diogo de Gouveia, an outstanding scholar and humanist. Under his sympathetic guidance were some of the organizers of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius of Loyola, Simão Rodrigues, the founder of the Jesuit province in Portugal, and Francis Xavier, the great missionary to India, and others.[17]

Gouveia himself was interested in the affairs of Portugal partly because of his friendship with John III who had given financial assistance to some of his students. The great importance of Diogo de Gouveia in the history of Brazil is well described by Pedro Calmon when he states: "Two merits particularly connect him with the colonization of Brazil; the insistence on its division into captaincies, so that it might be populated immediately without greater expense to the State, and the decided protection which he gave to the Society of Jesus in its initial phase."[18] Under these influences John III turned his serious attention toward the Portuguese possessions in the West and developed a policy for the substitution of permanent colonizations in Brazil for the occasional visits of traders. He also remembered the advice of Gouveia to obtain the aid of vigorous young Jesuits. The time was opportune, since, through the conferences between the Portuguese and Spanish cosmographers, the line of demarcation of 1494 through Brazil was fairly well defined, and, as shown on the 1529 map of Diego Ribero the line, as evidently agreed on, ran through Cape Orange on the

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Portugueses, A Fortaleza e a Feitoria de Pernambuco," *Lusitania,* Fasciculo IX (1926), 315-327.

[17] Calmon, *Historia,* I, 112-115.

[18] *Ibid.,* I, 113.

north to the old Cape of Santa María just north of the entrance to the Río de la Plata. Captaincies could thus be assigned to cover all of the coast of Brazil.

To carry out his plans in Brazil, John III chose a personal friend with whom he had been associated from earliest youth, and one whom, though young, he had made a member of his Council. This was Martim Afonso de Sousa, who was of high lineages and brilliant attainments. Though but twenty-nine years of age Sousa was granted extraordinary powers. Not only was he chief captain of the fleet and governor of the colony which he was to take with him but he was also to have supreme authority over those whom he found in Brazil. He was to have control as well of any land he might discover. His power was both civil and criminal, even to the extreme of condemning to death without appeal. The naming of justices, the disposition of land, and decision of all matters relating to the activities of the colonists were in his charge.

On December 3, 1530, Martim Afonso de Sousa left Lisbon in command of a fleet equipped both for warfare and for transport. This was composed of two ships, the flagship of 150 tons, another ship of 125 tons, a galleon of the same tonnage, and two smaller caravels. Four hundred men went with the fleet, among them overseers and mechanics as well as those who were to set up civil government and attempt to establish some semblance of European civilization. As captain of one of the ships went Pero Lopes de Sousa, a brother of the governor. To him we are indebted for a diary of the voyage of the expedition along the coast and for information regarding what was accomplished.[16]

The first point on the Brazilian shore which was reached was Cape St. Augustine where two French ships were captured. The fleet then divided and another French ship was taken by Pero Lopes de Sousa. One of these captives was sent to Portugal under the command of João de Sousa, carrying prisoners and letters to King John, the other two were added to the fleet. Then two Portuguese caravels were sent to explore as far as the Maranhão. There was also added a Portuguese caravel laden with slaves which came from Sofala. These were unloaded and the vessel commandeered. The fleet stopped at Bahia and then spent three months at Rio de Janeiro where two brigantines

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[19] *Diario da Navegação de Pero Lopes de Sousa, 1530-1532,* edited by Eugenio de Castro, Rio de Janeiro, 1927.

were built and the colonists had an opportunity to rest and secure supplies. Continuing southward toward the mouth of the Río de la Plata, the fleet encountered a storm. The flagship was wrecked. The main fleet, with the colonists, went no further, but Pero Lopes, with a brigantine entered the river and ascended a short distance up the Uruguay and the Paraná rivers. Probably the leader did not wish the main fleet to sail within the Spanish sphere, and the expedition of Pero Lopes was sent, therefore, to verify their determination of the line of demarcation. Satisfied that Portugal could lay no claim to the region, the idea of establishing a colony there was abandoned. The fleet then turned northward, stopping at Cananéa, where an expedition of eighty men was sent to the interior in search of precious metals.[20] The main fleet finally cast anchor, January 22, 1532, in the port of São Vicente which had been visited previously both by the Portuguese and the Spanish.

Here Martim Afonso de Sousa began at once to establish a settlement, as he had planned to do if the location at the site farther south did not seem advisable. Pero Lopes de Sousa left for Lisbon in May. Land was cleared for sugar plantations, sugar mills were erected, and a town was laid out which, from the descriptions and illustrations of Hans Staden of nearly twenty years later, must have been extremely primitive.[21] In this great assistance was given by two Portuguese, Antonio Rodrigues and the notorious João Ramalho, whose many years' experience in Brazil and esteem among the Indians were great aids. Ramalho conducted Martim Afonso to the highlands to the west of São Vicente, where they visited the Indian village Piratininga, the present site of the city of São Paulo and the place chosen twenty years later by Nóbrega for the location of the Jesuit college of that name. This excursion was a courtesy visit in return for one made to São Vicente by the Indian father-in-law of Ramalho, who had visited the Portuguese upon their arrival.

The boundaries of the new settlement with its adjacent territory were not definitely established before the fleet left Lisbon. João de Sousa, who had gone back to Portugal in the captured French ship to bear letters from Martim Afonso to the king, returned to Brazil with a royal letter dated September 28, 1532, in which the king tells of his desire to establish captaincies along the coast each of 50 leagues, a matter which he would discuss with him on his return.[22] He tells Martim Afonso, "his friend," that when the captaincies are established, the best locations, as selected by the pilots, are to be reserved for him and his brother, Martim Afonso to receive 100 leagues along the shore and his brother 50 leagues. The king also infers in this letter that Duarte Coelho is to be given preferential treatment in the granting of a captaincy at Pernambuco because of his services in India. The official donation of the captaincy of São Vicente, however, was not executed until October 6, 1534. By this time Martim Afonso already had returned to Portugal and gone to India. The cost of the exploratory expedition was evidently defrayed by the Crown, for Martim Afonso had not at that time enough wealth for it. He later obtained his fortune in India. After the donation had been made, the burden of expense of the settlement was transferred to the *donatário.*

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[20] Just before his departure from Brazil Martim Afonso de Sousa learned that the whole expedition had been killed by the Indians. Cf. Basilio de Magalhães, *Expansão Geographica do Brasil Colonial,* São Paulo, 1935, 25-27.

[21] *Hans Staden, The True History of His Captivity, 1557,* translated and edited by Malcolm Letts, New York, 1929, 57-64.

Martim Afonso left Brazil for Lisbon in April or May of 1533. He delegated his full powers over the colony to Gonçalo Monteiro. He arrived in Lisbon some time during the first two weeks of August, where he remained until March 1, 1534, the date when he sailed to India.[23] During these seven months the plans for the establishment of the captaincies along the Brazilian coast were maturing and Martim Afonso was able to take an active part in their formation. For the institution of a captaincy two documents were necessary, the *Carta de doação* and the *foral.* The former pertained to the donation of the land by the king and concerns all matters relating to its government, the rights of the *donatário* and the people. The latter, which supplements it, concerns the revenues to the king and other taxes.

The letters of donation and the *forais* of several of the captaincies have been preserved.[24] These documents follow the usual feudal precedents in formula and were obviously based on those provided for the donation of the captaincies previously made in the Atlantic Islands. The laws were made more liberal, however, than those of Portugal in several respects, particularly in regard to inheritance. The omission of the *Lei Mental,* which prevented female succession, was one of the special concessions. The *donatário* could designate his successor without any interference from the Crown. The captain or governor, as he was to be called, could be removed from office for specific reasons mentioned, such as personal misconduct, but under such circumstances the person whom he had appointed as his successor took office. In the case of treason to the king, however, there was an exception, for then the captaincy reverted to the Crown. In general the *donatário* was unrestricted in the appointment of officials to serve under him including those in charge of the administration of the courts, both civil and criminal. Taxes were prescribed in many cases and a tenth was to go into the Royal Treasury and to the Order of Christ. The sovereign, however, retained the monopoly of the trade in dyewood and slaves; the sugar industry was considered a private enterprise.

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[22] Reproduced in *Colonização,* III, 160-161.

[23] Cf. Varnhagen, *Historia,* third edition, I, 167, note 10.

[24] Some of these are published *in extenso* in *Colonização,* III, 309-313; also in *Documentos Historicos,* XIII, Bibliotheca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1929.

The division of Brazil into captaincies did not at first include the coast to the north and west of Pernambuco, although this had been explored by Diogo Leite in 1531. All donations made during the first year were to the south of this. The first captaincy to be established was that of Duarte Coelho at Pernambuco,[25] granted by a *carta de doação,* dated March 10, 1534, the *foral,* dated September 24 of the same year.[26] By grant of April 5, 1534, the second captaincy, Bahia, was donated to Francisco Pereira Coutinho. In rapid succession Porto Seguro was given to Pedro do Campo Tourinho, May 27, 1534, Espírito Santo to Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, June 1, 1534, Itamaracá, Santo Amaro, and Sant' Ana to Pero Lopes de Sousa in September 1534, and São Vicente and Rio de Janeiro to Martim Afonso de Sousa on October 6, 1534. In the spring of the next year Ilhéus was granted to Jorge de Figueiredo Correia, in April, and during 1535, the four *donatários,* João de Barros (March 11, 1535), Ayres da Cunha (March 11, 1535), Francesco Alvares de Andrade (March 11, 1535), and Antonio Cardoso de Barros (November 1535), were assigned lands to the north of Pernambuco. The latest assignment was that of Paraíba do Sul to Pero de Góis on January 28, 1536.

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[25] As a matter of fact, Fernão de Loronha had been granted the captaincy of the island bearing his name, although then called São João, on January 16, 1504. This was actually the first captaincy granted in Brazil. It was confirmed in 1522 and again in 1559. (*Alguns documentos do Archivo Nat. da Torre de Tombo,* Lisbon, 1892, 459-460; J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as Capitanias do Norte do Brasil, 1530-1560,* 2 volumes, São Paulo, 1939-1941, II, 106.) A similar donation was made to Belchior Comacho on the Island of Trinidade on August 22, 1539.

[26] *Documentos Historicos, loc. cit.,* 68-90.

The grant of Pernambuco made to Duarte Coelho was the most successful of any of the captaincies.[27] Coelho belonged to one of the oldest families of Portugal. He was the son of Gonçalo Coelho, the commander of the third voyage to Brazil and a relative of Nicoláu Coelho who took a prominent place in the voyage of da Gama and Cabral. The excellence of the harbor from which the name of the captaincy was derived, and the fact that this port was the one nearest to Europe made Pernambuco the favorite stopping place for ships on the way to and from Brazil. Dyewood of good quality grew in its vicinity and the open spaces in the forest were well adapted for plantations. The early history is somewhat clouded but it seems to have been one of the earliest settlements along the coast; and certainly plantations were there since 1526. A Portuguese factory, which the French destroyed in 1531, was located here, but Pernambuco was again in Portuguese hands when recaptured by Martim Afonso de Sousa soon after. With a well selected group of colonists, both married and single, Duarte Coelho reconstructed the fortifications, built the town of Olinda, and developed plantations for sugar cane. The captaincy of Pernambuco extended to the northern limits of Bahia which was just beyond the mouth of Rio São Francisco.

Bahia was given to Francisco Pereira Coutinho, who had been a soldier in India, and who accepted the captaincy because it appeared to have exceptional opportunity for colonization.[28] Bahia had been visited by both Portuguese and French traders since 1501. When the colonists arrived in December 1536, the seat of government was placed at the village, probably the present Villa Velha, occupied by Diogo Álvares, who had been there since about 1510 and had gathered around him his mameluke offspring, a band of Indians, and a few whites. Here a fortress was built for the colonists, some of whom had brought their families.[29] After remaining for seven or eight years, suffering from hunger, sickness, and much misfortune, many of those who remained were killed by the Tupinambás. Coutinho and a few others retired to Ilhéus and Porto Seguro but returned in about a year to Bahia, only to be cruelly massacred and devoured by the Indians on the Island of Itaparicá. Diogo Álvares, however, escaped.

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[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Colonização,* III, 248-252.

[29] According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil em 1587,* edited by Adolfo Varnhagen, third edition, São Paulo, 1938, 51.

The captaincy of Porto Seguro was assigned to a somewhat different type of person from the other *donatários*. Pero do Campo Tourinho came from the coast town of Viana in northern Portugal, bringing with him his family and friends, who, also bringing their relatives, emigrated to Brazil to make permanent homes there. They were fishing people accustomed to and capable of hard work and hardships. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, who gives the best résumé of the history of this captaincy,[30] says that Campo Tourinho was "a noble man, forceful, prudent, and much versed in the art of war." He sold all of his property in Portugal and embarked in two ships and two caravels. A village was established at Porto Seguro, a location but a few miles to the south of the port so named by Cabral. The people engaged in fishing and in cultivation of sugar cane. At first, trouble was experienced with the Tupiniquins, but later, peaceful relations were established. Internal dissension and demoralization existed and Pero Campo Tourinho, the victim of a conspiracy, was denounced to the Inquisition in Lisbon in 1543. Three years later, reduced to poverty, he returned to Portugal in irons.[31]

Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, the *donatário* of Espírito Santo, was a valiant soldier who had fought with Afonso de Albuquerque in India. He sold his property and went to Brazil with seventy men and supplies. He was generous, prodigal, and a brave soldier, but Brazil was not India. Fire devastated his forests and his houses were demolished by Indian depradations. He finally took refuge on the Island of Santo Antonio where he founded a second village. He still resided there in 1549, grown old in poverty and aided by the generosity of Duarte Coelho and other friends.[32]

The four southern captaincies belonged to the Sousas.[33] Martim Afonso held two, those of Rio de Janeiro and São Vicente, and Pero Lopes, Santo Amaro and Sant' Ana. Because Pero Lopes returned almost immediately to Lisbon his captaincy of Santo Amaro which was adjacent to that of São Vicente was merged with that province and they had a common history. The captaincy of Sant' Ana south of Cananéa was abandoned. Pero Lopes never visited his northern donation, Itamaracá. This captaincy survived because of its forest of dyewood and because of the existence of the village of Iguaraçú on the mainland and the fort on the island of Itamaracá, both of which were near Pernambuco. It was subject to attacks by the French and to Indian uprisings. Under João Gonçalves, whom Lopes de Sousa left in charge, some development was shown, but the captaincy could not be said to have been colonized. The captaincy increased in importance, however, later under the general government. In the time of Miguel Álvares de Paiva the colony prospered. It was under this captain that there occurred a war at Iguaraçú in 1548, an account of which is given by Hans Staden in his first voyage to Brazil.[34] Martim Afonso de Sousa, as has been said, left his captaincy at São Vicente in charge of Gonçalo Monteiro upon whom he conferred all powers which could be delegated. The latter was assisted by Pero de Góis and Rui Pinto. Monteiro's office lasted for a period of three years and in 1538 it was turned over to Antonio de Oliveira. Oliveira was successful in carrying on the government of the colony until it was transferred to Christovão de Aguiar de Oltero in December 1543. Brás Cubas replaced him before the termination of his three years and he held this until the establishment of the general government at Bahia. Some of the colonists, disillusioned, had returned to Portugal, with Martim Afonso. Other colonists came, however, to replace them, and it would have been difficult to distinguish between these and the original settlers. Further lands were cleared and the sugar production increased. With each new shipment of colonists, more domestic animals, especially oxen, were sent and seed was brought in to distribute among the colonists. São Vicente might have fared well if there had not been the double conflict of hostile Indians and unfriendly French and other corsairs.

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[30] *Ibid.,* 66-68.
[31] The lengthy record of this trial is given in *Colonização,* III, 271-283.
[32] *Ibid.,* III, 241-243.
[33] *Ibid.,* III, 223-237.

Although Martim Afonso's grant to the north included the Bay of Rio de Janeiro this region seems not to have been occupied at this time, although it was undoubtedly visited by both French and Portuguese. This may be accounted for by the fact that there was no brazilwood in the adjacent lands, though it was plentiful near Cape Frio to the north. Another reason was this: that sugar plantations, if started there, could not be as well protected as near the populous center farther south, where a group of villages including São Vicente, Santo Amaro, and Santos were developing.

Jorge de Figueiredo Correia was assigned the captaincy of

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[34] Hans Staden, *True History,* 33-44.

Ilhéus. This *donatário* did not go to Brazil, rather he sent Francisco Romero, a Castilian in his place. Romero decided to build the seat of the captaincy on an island, excellently located both for military and commercial purposes. The captaincy prospered for a time but was finally abandoned because of the destruction of the plantations and *engenhos* by the natives.

The fate of the four captaincies to the north lay in the hands of a substitute captain. João de Barros, the celebrated historian of the Portuguese in India and author of other literary works, was unable to visit Brazil because of his duties as Factor of the India House. Fernando Álvares, as Treasurer of the Kingdom, was in the same position and turned over the colonization, with Barros, to Ayres da Cunha. A fleet was assembled of some ten ships, the largest sent by any of the *donatários*. With it went the two sons of João de Barros and a confidential agent of Fernando Álvares. Because of the brilliant exploits of the Spanish conquistadores and their rewards of silver and gold, the belief that Peru might be reached from the East encouraged the *donatários* to furnish 100 of the 900 men, who went with the fleet, bringing horses for journeys inland. The fleet reached Pernambuco and after encounters with the Indians continued to the Maranhão which was reached in March 1536. Here the unhappy colonists who at first lived at peace with the natives later suffered from their hostilities and were driven almost to starvation. Ayres da Cunha died. Many of the others escaped to the West Indies, while some may have returned to Portugal. João de Barros was ruined financially for the rest of his life even in spite of the generous gifts of the king. There is no record of the occupation of the portion of Ceará to which Antonio Cardoso de Barros was entitled, though ruins have been found indicating some sort of occupation which may have been made at this time. Antonio Cardoso de Barros had received instructions from the king December 17, 1548, to proceed to Brazil as *Provedor môr* of his Fazenda and to put everything which had to do with the king's tribute in order.[35]

The last captaincy to be assigned was Paraíba do Sul, which was given to Pero de Góis. This *donatário* came with his two brothers to Brazil with little capital and for a time assisted at São Vicente after the departure of Martim Afonso de Sousa. He liked the country and worked hard. Sugar cane was planted but success was impossible because of the rebellion of the

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[35] *Colonização,* III, 252-256.

Indians, incited by a Portuguese coast pirate Henrique Luís. Góis retired to Espírito Santo and then, ruined, returned to Portugal, leaving in his place Jorge Martins. He came again to Brazil in command of one of the ships in the fleet which brought Thomé de Sousa, the first governor general, and was one of the officials of the new government, *capitão môr da costa,* the officer charged with maritime defense.

As has been shown, although the division of the Brazilian coast into separate captaincies seemed feasible at the time, many practical obstacles interferred which made this system almost a failure except in Pernambuco. Nevertheless, in this decade and a half, a large group of colonists had settled along the shore and inland, and the initial stage of colonization had been gone through. Years more of hardship for the Portuguese in this remote land, more conflicts with native tribes and with intruding French, were to follow until they became strong enough to dominate. The coming of the colonists had wrought many changes. Some colonists undoubtedly returned to Portugal, but those who stayed gradually developed villages with buildings of "stone and lime." At the end of the period of the captaincies, therefore, there were communities permanently established with some degree of order, and the profits derived from the sugar plantations were beginning to be evidenced, particularly at Pernambuco and São Vicente. The colonists came primarily to secure wealth as quickly as possible so more often than not there was a general disrespect for law and order. Many of the colonists left their homes in Portugal or Madeira to be disappointed and financially ruined, but those who followed learned from their experiences and profited by them.

During the first half century of Brazilian history the whole coast line had been carefully explored and mapped. Its resources both in flora and fauna had been studied but no minerals of value had been found. The colonists had brought with them seeds for grains and vegetables, and domestic animals for food to vary the diet of fish which was abundant along the shore. Bananas, sugar cane, rice, coffee, watermelons, and onions were introduced by the whites.[36] Sugar cane was not the only exportable crop cultivated, for they found that tobacco and cotton could also be raised. European fruits were included in their fare. The colonists were therefore by their own efforts selfsustaining, though manufactured goods must still come from Portugal.

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[36] Cf. Greenlee, *Voyage of Cabral,* 29, note 1.

The period of the independent captaincies actually lasted but a little more than ten years, yet it was the rude foundation on which a nation was to be built. A generation was growing up, both mameluke and white, from which those who followed learned how to live in this new land.[37] The introduction of convicts, because these could be readily secured when colonists were not to be found, added an element of great difficulty, however. The misfortunes in many of the captaincies and the lack of success of the system of separate holdings was soon known in Portugal and became a source of much concern. Letters were sent to the king warning him of impending disaster. On April 29, 1546, Pero de Góis wrote predicting that some parts of Brazil might be lost in two years.[38] Pero do Campo Tourinho on June 28 of the same year wrote that Bahia was becoming depopulated because of the Indians and that a year previous some colonists had come to his captaincy and were making no attempt to return to Bahia.[39] From Santos, in the captaincy of Martim Afonso de Sousa, Luís de Góis wrote to the king, May 12, 1548, that if he did not come to the aid of the captaincies his land of Brazil would be lost.[40] In some of the captaincies a state of insubordination existed. This expressed itself in revolts against the *donatários*. Distance from the king's authority fostered dissensions. Francisco Pereira Coutinho was arrested under a false order of the king; Campos Tourinho was accused by the principal inhabitants of heresy or blasphemy, which resulted in the loss of his captaincy. In Ilhéus the lieutenant of the *donatário* was also arrested by the colonists, and the one whom Thomé de Sousa found in charge was turned over as a New Christian to the Holy Office in Lisbon.

In spite of the unfortunate experiences of many of the colonists who went to Brazil it was still considered a land of promise to many in Portugal. There also had been a considerable investment in that country which could not be abandoned. It became increasingly evident that the captaincies, which were widely separated from one another along the long coast line, required better protection at sea, from foreign traders, on land, from the attacks of the Indians. It was therefore decided that a centralized government must be established in Brazil for the protection of its territory in the New World and for its future development.

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[37] Cf. Pedro Calmon, *Historia Social do Brasil,* 3 volumes, São Paulo, 1940, I, 153-168.

[38] *Colonização,* III, 334.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*

Plans were immediately made to this end. The office of governor general was established as the supreme authority over all the captaincies, except that of Pernambuco, and through the governor general the rule was more directly by the Crown. This portion was first given to Thomé de Sousa, a cousin of Martim Afonso and Pero Lopes de Sousa and also a personal friend of the king. On December 17, 1548, three exhaustive *Regimentos* were signed by the king, one addressed to Thomé de Sousa reciting his duties as governor general of Brazil, another to Antonio Cardoso de Barros who was to be *Provedor môr* of the royal *Fazenda,* and the third directed to the *provedores* of the captaincies.[41] The *Regimento* for the governor, the most important of the three, gave explicit instructions for the reestablishment of the captaincy of Bahia as well as for the conduct of the whole colony and was a much more complex document than the *cartas de doação.* Almost complete liberty had been given to the captains within their own donations, so that governments had grown up in each captaincy at the dictates of the *donatário* or his agent. The appointment of a governor general did not destroy these governments as they had been set up in the respective donations, and his instructions and his activities had to be adapted to the conditions as they existed. The Crown took over more of the responsibilities in the establishment of the office and met much of the expense of protection and administration, although in the end the colonists paid for all of this outlay by means of taxation. Bahia, or more properly São Salvador de Bahia de Todos os Santos, was chosen for the seat of the royal government because it was centrally located and independent. Bahia was also frequented by the French traders so that a strong fortress at this location might help the Portuguese to drive them from the coast. John III had distributed the whole of the Brazilian shore to *donatários* leaving no location belonging to the Crown. At Bahia the captaincy had been a definite failure so all rights of the *donatário* were purchased by the king at a small sum. Bahia was to be not only the administrative capital of Brazil but was to become later the See of the church in the new colony.[42]

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[41] These are given *in extenso* in *Colonização,* III, 345-359. A résumé of the *Regimento* of Thomé de Sousa in English translation, by Ruth L. Butler, may be found in MID-AMERICA, XXIV (October 1942), 236-242.

An important factor of the new government and one not to be overlooked was the coming of the Jesuits with the governor general in 1549. The Order was still in its infancy though already accomplishing important missions. With the little group of students at the college of Santa Barbara, in Paris, St. Ignatius Loyola had founded in 1540 the religious order of the Society of Jesus.[43] The following year Francis Xavier was one of the seven persons who took the original Jesuit vows on August 15, 1534, and sailed for India in the fleet of Martim Afonso de Sousa when he went there as viceroy in 1541. The reports of the wonderful missionary work accomplished by the "Apostle to the Indies" in the Portuguese world in the East must have reached the king while he was considering the formation of the new colony in Brazil. He remembered the advice of Gouveia of twenty years earlier to foster the growth of the new Order and resolved to turn their work to his purpose in Brazil. Furthermore, even as early as the Cabral voyage of discovery, Pedro Vaz de Caminha, in his letter to King Manuel in 1500, had said that "the best profit which can be derived from it [Brazil], it seems to me, will be to save this people, and this should be the chief seed which Your Highness should sow there."[44] This admonition, long delayed, may have been uppermost in the mind of the *Rei Piedoso* when he sent Manuel de Nóbrega with his missionary band to take up their work in the West among the Indian tribes of Brazil.

With respect to religious conditions in Brazil during the first half of the sixteenth century information is indeed scarce. Brazil was definitely classified as a mission area, since there is no trace of any church organization in its customary parochial and diocesan form. Nor is there any indication that the papacy, the Church in Portugal, or the kings, Manuel and John III, hereditary patrons of the Church, made any attempts to set up a formal ecclesiastical structure in the time of the

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[42] At this point warehouses could be established both for export and import and expense saved in the commercial field. Portugal had had the same experience in India, which caused the seat of government, both civil and ecclesiastical, to be established at Goa. This decision was made because of the distance from the mother country necessitating that authority be delegated to local officials. Brazil also was far from Portugal and thus far from central control. See note 56, below.

[43] Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (January 1942), 12-19.

[44] Greenlee, *Voyage of Cabral,* 33.

donatários. For obvious reasons no formal religious development could be expected in Brazil during the first three decades. John III, ascending the throne in 1521, was confronted by a sufficient number of local and imperial problems.[45] His attempts to revive the cultural and religious spirit of the kingdom, his zeal for correcting the morals of his people are well known. Checking the intrusion of Protestantism, investigating the conditions among the newly converted Jews, establishing the Inquisition in 1536, and carrying on a serious dispute with the Papacy required much time. To these problems was added that of obtaining missionaries to spread the faith in Africa, India, and China. Consequently Brazilian religious affairs dropped far down the list of agenda, as far as the Portuguese Empire was concerned.

Still, clergymen had gone to Brazil. The first priest to say Mass on Brazilian soil was, as has been stated, the Franciscan, Fray Henrique de Coimbra.[46] He arrived and departed with the Cabral expedition. How many other chaplains touched the shores cannot be said. Magellan had with him at least one when he coasted along Brazil in late 1519 and early 1520. This was a Father Sánchez, who became involved in the mutiny near the Strait of Magellan and who with Juan de Cartagena was put ashore there as an alternative to being hanged and quartered.[47] Nobody knows if the pair of "degredados" ever escaped from the cold climate, which occasioned their mutiny, or if they ever reached the warm lands of the north.

After the Cabral expedition clergymen arrived, but when and under what circumstances is not known. Were they castaways? Were they sent from Portugal as undesirables or as degraded? Were they brought with the *donatários?* Some were undoubtedly zealous missionaries. In proof of this, we find that when Thomé de Sousa arrived in Bahia in 1549, there were twenty or thirty Christian Indians, who had been baptized by certain fathers in the far south and carried north as slaves.[48] The fathers had been sent to this southland as missionaries by King Manuel, hence before 1521. They were, according to Father Leite, Franciscans from Portugal who came to Brazil, but who in spite of their zeal were unable to establish any houses.[49] They left no vestiges, except baptized Indians. Other Franciscans from Spain made their way across lower Brazil into Paraguay. They too passed on.

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[45] Jacobsen, *loc. cit.,* 11-12.

[46] Cf. Fernando Pedreira de Castro, *Crónica da Igreja no Brasil, Periodo Pre-anchietano, 1500-1553,* Rio de Janeiro, 1938, 8-19.

[47] E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America,* New York, 1904, 124.

[48] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, *Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560,* Rio de Janeiro, 1931, 81-82, Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, 1549.

The Jesuits, led by Father Nóbrega, arrived as missionaries in 1549. They found no other religious bodies or members but secular priests in the captaincies of Pernambuco, Espírito Santo, and São Vicente.[50] These clerics were in no wise interested in missionary activities, having nothing to do with the Indians, mamelukes, or slaves. Each lived as an individual, and under no ecclesiastical jurisdiction. No mention is made of any cleric brought on Thomé de Sousa's armada. These were evidently exiled from some diocese of Portugal. As for any physical signs of religion, all Nóbrega could find was a "kind of church" in the old city.[51]

The disorganized condition of the clergymen in Brazil and their utter laxity struck Nóbrega as needful of immediate and drastic action. Each of his letters contained a request for a bishop or at least a vicar apostolic, so that parochial and diocesan organization could be made, and some jurisdiction and responsibility established. The whites could then be taken care of in parishes, while the Jesuits could carry out their intentions of evangelizing the natives. A bishop was needed not only for ecclesiastical discipline but to consecrate oils for baptisms and the extreme unction, for confirming those baptized and for ordaining priests.[52]

At Pernambuco there were five or six ecclesiastics, characterized as "irregular, apostates and excommunicate."[53] Whether they had incurred an irregularity in Portugal or in Brazil is unknown. They may have been sent to the colony simply as "Mass priests," that is, ordained to say Mass but not to hear confessions or perform other functions. They considered neither concubinage, enslavement of natives, nor cannibalism a sin.[54] In the back country of São Paulo Father Nunes, the Jesuit missionary, reported that he had heard of the presence of ten clerics, living in concubinage, who had not celebrated Mass for three, four, and even ten years.[55] Evidently, they had long been in the land. Beyond a statement of Father Leite's that clerics were in Espírito Santo, nothing is known of their number or status or relations with Coutinho and his people.

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[49] *Ibid.*, I, 98; Serafim Leite, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* 2 volumes, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, 1938, II, 505.

[50] *Ibid.*, II, 509.

[51] *Cartas Jesuiticas,* I, 71, Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, n. d.

[52] *Ibid.*, I, 75, 83, 110, 116.

[53] *Ibid.*, I, 119, Nóbrega to the Fathers and Brothers, September 13, 1551.

[54] *Ibid.*, I, 75, 77, 116, 123; and Leite, II, 509.

The attempt of John III to establish efficient administration for this colony, to establish ecclesiastical order for the whites, and at the same time to undertake the conversion of the heathen could not have been more auspiciously inaugurated than by the combined and harmonious efforts of Thomé de Sousa and the Jesuits.

On February 1, 1549, the governor general sailed with the largest fleet which had yet gone to Brazil. Six members of the Jesuit Order, headed by Manuel da Nóbrega, accompanied him. Portugal had taken the measure of the Brazilian coast line. There now began the social, economic, and cultural process by which Brazil was soon to become "another Portugal."

W. B. GREENLEE

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[55] Serafim Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas,* São Paulo, 1940, 136, Letter of P. Leonardo Nunes to Nóbrega, June 29, 1552.

[56] Leite, *História,* II, 509. These conditions in Brazil were promptly condemned by Thomé de Sousa and Nóbrega. On February 5, 1551, Pope Julius III erected Brazil to a diocese, the Diocese of Bahia, City of São Salvador. The first bishop, D. Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, arrived on June 22, 1552, bringing with him some diocesan priests, canons, and dignitaries. Ruth L. Butler, "Thomé de Sousa, First Governor General of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (October 1942), 249. Thus was the Church formally established.

Ahsahwaince, His Hundred Years

The incidents below were related by Ahsahwaince, Chippewa Indian of the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota. They were incidentally recorded in August 1936, while the present writer was gathering ethnological material for a study of primitive child life, a forthcoming publication of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. When put together they form a biographical sketch covering the one hundred years of life of Ahsahwaince. The statements of this fine old gentleman were recorded by Jessie Flannagan and interpreted by Ida Roy, his daughter, the Ogemawab of the narrative. Ahsahwaince's recollections offer bits of information for the anthropologist as well as notes for the historian of Catholic history of Minnesota.

The setting of Ahsahwaince's narrative lies in the lake and wooded area of scenic beauty in what is now northcentral Minnesota. Among the thousands of lakes in the area one finds three large magnificent ones in linear position, that is if one travels as the crow flies from St. Paul to the Lake of the Woods on the Canadian boundary. The first of these, Mille Lacs Lake, ninety miles from St. Paul, is a majestic inland sea almost exactly in the center of the state. It has two hundred miles of wooded shore and two hundred five square miles of water surface. Leech Lake, the second one, forty-six miles farther on, has six hundred forty miles of shore, forested and dented with coves and bays and juts of land. After another fifty-six miles Red Lake appears, the largest of Minnesota's lakes and one immortalized by Longfellow. It is in Siamese-twin formation, the lower lake—in size equal to the upper lake—spanning twelve miles from north to south and eighteen miles from east to west. If one travels approximately thirty miles west of Mille Lacs Lake, one finds Crow Wing, the historic mission of Father Pierz and the place of Ahsahwaince's baptism. White Earth villege on the White Earth Reservation, the birthplace of Ogemawab and the place of death of Ahsahwaince, lies fifty miles directly west of Leech Lake. Within this trapezium—Mille Lacs Lake, Red Lake, White Earth village, and Crow Wing—a trapezium of loveliness in forests, lakes, and brooks, of invigorating sunshine and bracing air, Ahsahwaince spent his hundred years.

NARRATIVE OF AHSAHWAINCE

I was born on December 15, 1835. My parents belonged to the Pillager Band of the Chippewa tribe[1] Our dodaim[2] was the loon. My earliest memories go back to the time when I was about five years old. My father one morning rubbed charcoal over my face and led me into a near-by woods. Here he spread a blanket on the ground for me and told me that I must remain there to fast; that during my fast I would learn the course that I was to follow in my future life. At early dawn each morning he brought me a little food and water and I took this before sunrise. This was all the food and drink I received in each twenty-four hours. My fast lasted ten days. At the end of that time, our relatives and neighbors gathered at our wigwam for a feast. At the feast I was asked to relate what I had learnt during my fast. Among other things I told them that I had been advised that I would live to be a *very* old man; that my hair would remain black, even in my old age; that as soon as it turned gray I would know that my time on earth was nearing its end.[3]

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[1] Chippewa is a popular adaptation of Ojibway, "to roast till puckered up," referring to a gathered seam over the toes of moccasins. The Chippewa Indians belong, culturally, to the eastern woodland area of North America, and linguistically to the Algonquian family. The Chippewa were divided into ten or more divisions or bands, each numbering from five to fifty or more families, headed by a chief. Each band occupied a region as its habitat. The Pillager Band to which Ahsahwaince belonged lived on Leech Lake. Families respected each other's rights as to the home place (location of wigwam), plots for gardening, shores for gathering wild rice, maple groves for sugar making, and places for trapping and hunting. All could fish in the lakes of the region. Bands claimed affiliation with either of two large organizations: the Lake Superior Bands or the Mississippi Bands. George Copway, a native, calls them Lake Bands and Interior Bands. In early treaty-making, the United States Government dealt with the Chippewa in these affiliated organizations. Cf. James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas, *Chippewa,* Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) Bulletin 30, Part I; George Copway, *Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation,* Boston, 1851; Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* Washington, 1903, Vol. II; Sister Inez Hilger, Chippewa Child Life, ms., forthcoming publication of BAE, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

[2] The Chippewa *dodaim* is an intertribal exogamic patrilinear group, a gens, therefore. It is inherited by both sexes. Gentes are designated by animals. The wildcat, bear, eagle, martin, bullhead, kingfisher, crane, loon, lynx, wolf, fish, pickeral, caribou, lion, and bird were gentes of informants who contributed to the present writer's forthcoming publication mentioned above. (Unless otherwise stated footnotes hereinafter are based upon field work among the Chippewa on nine reservations in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, from 1932 to 1940.)

[3] Fasting and subsequent dreaming by Chippewa boys of prepuberty age was institutional. Its objective was to provide contact with the spiritual world and thereby obtaining a medium in a guardian spirit. The guardian spirit took the form of either a person, an animal, an inanimate object, or an activity of nature. The guardian's prerogatives were to give advice,

About a year after my fast my father was killed by a stray bullet shot by a gambler who was loitering in our village. My mother was now compelled to earn a livelihood for herself, my little brother, and me. In the spring she made maple sugar; during the summer she picked berries; in the fall she gathered wild rice; and in the winter she trapped muskrat, mink, and lynx. Nearly all the year around she fished in our big lake.[4]

When I was about fifteen my mother married again and shortly afterwards I left home. It was impossible for me to endure the cruelty of my stepfather. I never saw my mother again.

Through an acquaintance, Joe Wakefield, by name, a half-breed who was foreman of a lumber company located between Brainerd and Walker, I secured employment for a time. Later I found my way to Crow Wing, an Indian fur trading post. Here I obtained less arduous work in a hotel owned by John George Morrison—also an acquaintance of mine.

How well I remember one summer evening! Some of the men from around there and I sat outside the hotel with a number of men. Along came the man who brought the mail to Crow Wing. He sat down and joined in our conversation. We were all in a jovial mood. He and I began to banter back and forth with the result that I bet him a suit of clothes that I could walk the distance from Crow Wing to Red Lake and back, which trail at that time was about 100 miles, in less time than he could. He accepted the challenge, we set the date, and the trekking started. I knew a shorter route—later I acquainted the mailman of this—and consequently I walked the distance in two

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knowledge, and power. Dream experiences are considered very sacred and few Indians will relate them.

[4] Deer and bear meat, fowl, and fish formed the chief foods of the Chippewa. These were boiled with wild rice, wild potatoes, tips of milkweed, tips of fern, blossoms of cultivated pumpkin; with wild berries of various kinds; with cultivated vegetables, especially corn, squash, pumpkin, and beans. Maple was used for sweetening. Surplus of meats and fish were smoked and dried in the heat of a fire, and then stored. Vegetables and berries were dried in sun and air, and also stored. Maple sugar was made from sap of the maple tree. In Minnesota maple sap rises from about March 25 to April 30. During this time Chippewa families—today as in the earlier day—move to maple groves, tap the trees, collect sap, boil, evaporate, and refine it into sugar. Supplies are stored. Wild rice is gathered in August and early September just before it matures. It grows in mud bottoms at short distances from shores of lakes and slow moving creeks and rivers. When collecting it, bunches are held over a canoe and are knocked with a paddle-like stick. This causes the grain to drop. In the early day the grain was dried and ripened either in the sun and wind or on flat rocks over slow fires. Today it is parched in kettles over fire. Husks are loosened by being pounded with a large wooden pestle or more generally—and traditionally—by being trampled under foot. Kernels are winnowed from chaff.

and one-half days less time than he did. But he paid the price of the bet gallantly and I wore the suit of clothes.

It was during the years of my employment at the Crow Wing hotel that I became acquainted with Father Pierz. He invariably traveled on foot through the reservation, carrying his bedding strapped on his back. Frequently he slept in the Indian villages. My admiration for this good priest grew more fervent each time I saw him. The first opportunity I had of speaking to him alone, I told him that I wished to adopt his faith. I remember well how his kindly face lighted with a gentle smile. He clasped my hand and said he would be happy to tell me all I wished to know about his religion. My acquaintances everywhere taunted me about becoming "religious"; but it didn't phase me any for my mind was firmly made up. The priest baptized me on his next visit to our trading post and gave me the name of Joseph.

Off and on for many years the Sioux tribe annoyed the Chippewa by encroaching on our territory.[5] Finally every Chippewa man was called upon to help drive them westward. We had driven them as far west as Devils Lake, North Dakota, when an order came from the United States Government that all hostilities had to cease; that violators of this command would be compelled to pay the penalty with their own lives. I at once returned to Crow Wing. I was back in the Chippewa country but I was carrying about in my head the image of an attractive maiden whom I had met in North Dakota and I found no contentment until I went out again to find her. She belonged to the Blackfeet tribe,[6] and lived with her parents at Grand Forks, North Dakota. Her father, a French-Canadian, owned a considerable quantity of land in Canada. Caroline Nadeau—that was her name—and I married in 1874. In 1880 we moved to the White Earth Reservation and that meant our transfer to the Mississippi Band of the Chippewa Indians.

Here I made a living for my family by working for the Benedictine Sisters at the mission school. Father Aloysius, Sister Lioba, and Sister Philomena, three persons who had established the Mission in White Earth, were our most helpful friends. We were ever glad to be located near a Catholic church.

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[5] In the eighteenth century the Chippewa drove the Fox Indians from northern Wisconsin, the Iroquois from the peninsula between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, and the Sioux to the south of the Minnesota River and west to the Turtle Mountains. The Sioux continuously molested the Chippewa in an attempt to regain their lost territory.

[6] The Blackfeet Indians belong, culturally, to the plains area Indians of North America; linguistically, to the Algonquian family. Today the Blackfeet occupy the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in Montana just east of Glacier National Park.

I have never forgotten an incident, the shock of which I can't express in words even today. I was working in the hayfield one day when I noticed a group of men coming along in a rather unusual arrangement on the road that led into White Earth village. I went toward them curious to know what their purpose was. To my great astonishment I found five half-breed Indians, two of them mounted on ponies that were pulling a wagon, one sitting in the front part of the wagon driving it, and the other two bringing up the rear. And in the wagon, stripped to his shirt and trousers, bound with rope and tied to the wagon, lay our missionary priest, Father Tomazin! I protested angrily to such treatment of a priest. But they wouldn't heed me. Then I begged of them to set him free. Next I warned them that they would be punished for their malice. But they paid no attention to me. Being of small stature myself, there was no use of attacking them physically. However, I followed them, intending to do what I could for the priest. On reaching the village I learned more about this shameful act.—Later on I discovered that these half-breeds and their followers were under the impression that Father Tomazin was going through the reservation on some political expedition, a thing that might eventually prove detrimental to their own political ambitions. So they captured him.—As soon as they reached the village, the church bell was rung. It was their way of announcing to the neighborhood that they had Father Tomazin in their power. Instantly, on hearing the church bell, Shawbahskung, the grand old medicine man,[7] a breech-clout Indian[8] who lived just across the bay on Mission Lake, mounted his pony, galloped into the village, armed with his gun. When he saw what was taking place he dared the crowd to place a hand on the priest, threatening that if they did so, he would shoot down every man that was standing on that spot. The Indians regarded this medicine man with such awe and fear that everyone turned on his heels and fled. Shawhabskung released the priest and gave him protection in his own wigwam until it was safe for him to again proceed on his way. Years later one of the instigators of that attack on Father Tomazin—his house was also located on Mission Lake—was compelled to move away for he was continuously tormented with the hallucination that he could see the captured priest floating on the lake. His chief companion in guilt was found dead on a roadside many years after, no one ever knowing what caused his death.

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[7] Medicine men and women were members of the Mide wiwin (Grand Medicine), the native religion. Because of the supernatural powers claimed by them and ascribed to them, they were greatly feared. Among these powers, so-called "medicines," they were believed to possess were those of black art. These could be exercised by them either by personal contact, merely by being in the presence of the one to be injured, or by being at a greater or lesser distance from him.

[8] A breech-clout Indian was one who refused to be influenced by European civilization, breech-clout and leggings being the traditional garment worn by men in place of trousers.

My wife and I worked happily together. As the seasons of each year arrived, we made maple sugar, fished, picked berries, and gathered wild rice. I supplied our table with wild game. In winter there was plenty trapping not far from our own door. The near-by woods too supplied us with fuel during cold weather. I often meditated on God's great goodness in supplying the Indian with everything he needed for his own use, and all of it so close at hand.

Our life, however, was not free from trials. I lost the sight of my right eye while mending a wire fence: the end of one length suddenly loosened and sprang upward catching my eye and thus injuring the eyeball. Then our children were born to us but seemed permitted to remain with us only a few years. One by one the first ones were taken from us through sickness or accident. Later we reared two sons, and the daughter whom you see sitting near me. She was the first of our children to reach adult age. She came to us in midsummer moon.[9] We were then living in a wigwam. She was so very precious to us that we named her Ogemawab, which in English means Queen. My wife predicted on the day that Ogemawab was born that if she were spared us, she would make something of herself. And so she did. Father Aloysius baptized her the day after her birth and named her Ida. She was not quite four years old when we placed her in the Benedictine Sisters' boarding school for Indian girls at White Earth. After that she worked in this very hospital (White Earth) until she earned enough money to put herself through a training course for nurses. For years she served the sick as a nurse in Anchor Hospital, St. Paul, where she now is a supervisor.[10] She provided her mother and me with food and clothing ever since we were unable to do so ourselves. Her mother passed away eighteen months ago, on the first day of spring, just as the Angelus rang.

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[9] Days were counted by nights; nights were not named. Moons (months) and seasons were. Midsummer moon, also called blueberry moon, corresponded to our July. The moon preceding midsummer moon was strawberry moon; the one following, wild-rice-gathering moon. Moons began with new moon. The Chippewa words for the four seasons do not lend themselves to translation.

[10] Ogemawab or Ida Roy (Ahsahwaince's name on the tribal rolls of

If I am spared until the last moon of this year, I shall have reached my one hundred and first birthday. However, my strength is failing and I have been on this earth long enough. And you may notice that my time here on earth is almost spent, for, though my hair is still dark, it is turning gray in places. I shall be happy to be relieved of this feeble old body. I shall gladly go to where my wife is; her companionship brightened my life for sixty-one years. I am just waiting now to go, and I am doing so patiently. The Great Father knows best when to call me. In His goodness He is permitting that I have no physical suffering. Some days I am not conscious of being here; I seem to be in a different environment. I see beautiful lights, beautiful flowers, beautiful things. My weakness is extreme; but what is that? It will be that only for a little while longer. My good daughter will see that my old frame is laid by the side of her mother. And my soul, I know, will find favor with Kice Manitou[11] who has cared for me over a century of years. He will guide my Ogemawab aright just as He has guided me. His blessing be upon her. She has supplied me with the necessities of life and is making happy for me the feeble years that are left for me to live.

Thus ends the relation of Ahsahwaince of August 1936. The old man's life fell a month short of one hundred and one years; he died in November 1936.

A few words may now be added regarding the events and persons mentioned as outstanding in his memories of a century.[12]

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the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs is Joseph Roy) is a registered nurse. She has served as nurse and as supervisor in Anchor Hospital, St. Paul, Minnesota, since the year of her graduation, twenty years ago. She has been described as a kind, faithful, conscientious, and able nurse; as an alert, understanding, and intelligent supervisor. She is one of the foremost Indian women in the Middle West.

[11] *Kice Manitou* (Great Spirit) in the traditional culture of the Chippewa was a Being far removed from them. He was seldom addressed, directly or alone in prayer, except at the Mide wiwin celebrations held twice a year usually. At this time also offerings were made to Him. Chippewa today call God *Kice Manitou.*

[12] The items of information for these concluding paragraphs have been taken from the following sources: Archives, Chancery Office of the Diocese of St. Cloud, Minnesota; "Diary of Bishop Cretin," *Acta et Dicta,* St. Paul, Vol. I; Franz Pierz, *Die Indianer in Nord-Amerika,* St. Louis, 1855; Kappler, *Indian Affairs,* I, II (1903), III (1913), IV (1929); James Trobec, Diocese of St. Cloud, in *Catholic Encyclopedia,* New York, 1912, XIII, 342-343; and the following by the present writer: "Chippewa Hunting and Fishing Cus-

French fur traders came to the area long before Ahsahwaince's time. When he was but two years old (1837) his people ceded their first lands to the United States Government. Soon the area was opened to white settlement. Lumberjacks and lumber mills arrived in numbers during his years. Europeans and their descendents lived at the trading posts, in lumber camps, and at lumber mills throughout the region. In 1849 the region was included in the newly organized Minnesota Territory; in 1858, in the newly admitted state of Minnesota. Negotiations and treaties between Chippewa chiefs and headmen on the one hand and the United States Government on the other—many of the treaties involving land cessions—continued from 1785 until the 1890's. Consequent resentment of many Indians broke out on numerous occasions. It culminated in the massacre of 1862, one of the bloodiest recorded in American history. In 1867, when Ahsahwaince was thirty-two, the United States Government set aside a reserve of thirty-six townships as the White Earth Reservation. Other reservations for Chippewa Indians in Minnesota are Red Lake, Leech Lake, Nett Lake, Vermillion Lake, Grand Portage, Fond du Lac, and Mille Lacs.

When Ahsahwaince was born, the region was under the Catholic ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque, Iowa; in 1850 it passed into the newly organized diocese of St. Paul. In 1851, the year of his installment as first bishop of St. Paul, Joseph Cretin sent Father Franz Pierz, the priest who baptized Ahsahwaince, as sole missionary to all the Chippewa Indians in his diocese and to all the Whites living one hundred miles along the Mississippi River. Father Pierz, a native of Carniola, Austria, had just come from Bishop Baraga's missions among the Lake Superior Chippewa. In 1852 Father Pierz established his first mission in his new assignment at Crow Wing; in 1853, a second one at Mille Lacs.

Father Ignatius Tomazin, zealous defender of Indian rights, loved and revered in the Chippewa country even today, came among the Chippewa following his ordination at St. Paul, Minnesota, on February 5, 1864. The place of his birth, too, was

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toms," *Minnesota Conservationist,* April 1936; "In the Early Days of Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Archeologist,* June 1936; "Letters and Documents of Bishop Baraga Extant in the Chippewa Country," *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, December 1936; "Some Phases of Chippewa Material Culture," *Anthropos,* Vol. 32, 1937; *Social Survey of One Hundred Fifty Chippewa Indian Families of the White Earth Reservation of Minnesota,* Washington, 1939.

Carniola, Austria; the day of his birth, February 5, 1843. His missionary stations among the Chippewa included Crow Wing, Leech Lake, White Earth, and Red Lake. Father Felix Nelles, Benedictine missionary among the Chippewa of Minnesota for thirty years and now retired at St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, said to the writer recently (1943): "Father Tomazin was well liked by the Indians. He was continuously defending their rights over those of the United States Government officials. He often pleaded the cause of the Indians. On one occasion when in Washington doing so he was annoyed with the lack of understanding on the part of some senators serving on a Senate committee dealing with Indian affairs and frankly told them that they were a lot of thieves and pie eaters! When back on the reservation it was rumored that government officials had sent word to have Father Tomazin arrested on the charge of causing insubordination on the part of the Indians. The Indians forced Father Tomazin into a canoe and rode him to a lonely island leaving him there without means of returning, but with plenty of food, until the danger of his arrest had passed." He died in Chicago on August 26, 1916, at the age of seventy-three.

The work of the Benedictines among the Chippewa, which has continued to the present time, began in 1878 when Father Aloysius Hermanutz, of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, and two Benedictine Sisters, Sister Lioba Braun and Sister Philomena Ketten, of St. Benedict's Convent, St. Joseph, Minnesota, established a school in White Earth. Sister Philomena died at St. Benedict's Convent on June 29, 1928 at the age of seventy-four; Father Aloysius at White Earth on September 7, 1929, at the age of seventy-six. Sister Lioba, now ninety years of age, enfeebled by years of labor and confined to her bed in her convent home, St. Benedict's, is aroused to enthusiasm whenever it is announced to her that Ogemawab has come to visit her. She has lost none of her first love for her Chippewa children.

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An Alleged Spanish *Entrada* into New York

The authenticated presence of Europeans in the territory of the present state of New York west of the Hudson River can be assigned no greater antiquity than the second decade of the seventeenth century. In 1615 Champlain and a handful of Frenchmen accompanied a Huron war party against the Iroquois. This unfortunate enterprise brought him and his French companions into central New York—very probably to what later came to be known as Nichols' Pond, in the town of Fenner, Madison County.[1] Etienne Brulé, dispatched from the Huron Country to enlist the aid of the Andastes against the Iroquois, also traversed a goodly extent of territory in central and western New York in the same year.[2]

Had the early historians of central New York been content to rest their narratives of initial European exploration of the region with the activities of Champlain and his associates much controversy and not a little romantic speculation would have been avoided. But in a locality so rich in authentic historical background, it was perhaps natural that local patriotism would seek to establish still earlier contacts with the pioneers of New World exploration. Hence we find Verrazano, Cortereal, De Soto, and others of like antiquity, advanced as visitors to the interior country of New York.

Tracing these claims to their sources, we find most of them arising from the efforts made to explain the origin of the so-called Pompey Stone, found on the farm of Philo Cleveland near Pompey, Onondaga County, in 1820. And although this hoax was completely exposed nearly half a century ago, one still occasionally meets statements implying its authenticity.[3] The fact that the establishment of its true character was made in a local newspaper, and that this exposé of the circumstances surrounding its perpetration did not find its way very widely into the professional journals, probably accounts in large measure for its persistence in survival as a genuine monumental record.

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[1] The site of this engagement was long a matter of controversy. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan placed it near Canandaigua Lake, *Documentary History of the State of New York,* III (1850), 10, note 1. Orsamus H. Marshall held for a site on Onondaga Lake, *Magazine of American History,* I (1877), 1-13. General John S. Clark in an address before the New York Historical Society in April 1877 inclined to place it at Nichols' Pond, in Madison County, and in this he was supported by John Gilmary Shea, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History,* II (1878), 103. There now seems to be no sound reason to doubt the correctness of the Nichols' Pond site, nor its corollary that it was an Oneida and not an Onondaga town that was attacked. The most exhaustive study of the matter is that by William M. Beauchamp, "Champlain and the Oneidas in 1615," in the *American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society,* Twenty-third Annual Report, Albany, 1918, 625-643.

[2] Consul W. Butterfield, *History of Brule's Discoveries and Explorations, 1610-1626,* Cleveland, 1898; Frank H. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France,* 2 volumes, New York, 1917, II, 3, 13-14.

The account of this find was initially passed on to students and readers of history through its publication in two widely circulated works, Joshua V. H. Clark's *Onondaga; or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times,* published at Syracuse in 1849, and Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois,* published at Albany in 1847. The similarity—at times identity—of phraseology employed by these two authors in describing the discovery of the stone leaves no doubt of their dependence on a common source of information. And despite the priority of publication of Schoolcraft's volume, there are grounds for believing that Clark did not copy the Schoolcraft narrative.[4] The fact that Clark lived at no great distance from Pompey and was in a position to gather the facts of the discovery from people well acquainted with the incident leads us to follow his narrative in preference to that of Schoolcraft.

> Mr. Cleveland was picking stones in his field, preparatory to making a meadow, in the summer of 1820 or 1821. It was on a moist piece of ground and toward evening, at the close of his day's labors, he raised the stone with his iron bar and turned it on its edge. Mr. C. being weary, leaned against a stump near by, while his hands rested on the top of the bar. While musing in that position, with his eyes fixed upon the stone, he observed something remarkable about it; and

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[3] John T. Conlon, "The Beginnings of Catholicism in New Netherland, 1609-1664," *Historical Records and Studies,* XXIII (1933), 173, note 2, relying on Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America,* IV, 434, and Henry A. Homes, "The Pompey, (New York) Stone," *Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society* (1881), 83-95, writes: "The 'Pompey Stone' found in Oneida [Onondaga] County, inscribed and dated in 1520, indicates the presence of a few Spanish Catholics in the present State of New York almost a century before the recorded discovery of that territory. The monument is regarded as genuine and authentic."

[4] It would be to little purpose in this connection to enter into the controversy once waged between the supporters of these two early authors. The legend of Hiawatha, publicized widely for the first time by Schoolcraft, is now probably correctly ascribed to Clark. Schoolcraft was an assiduous compiler, but he lacked much of the scientific temperament, and his methods of workmanship were peculiarly his own. The excerpts here reproduced indicate his inaccuracy in respect to ever well established facts.

> upon taking a nearer view, discovered some of the characters and letters. . . . He removed it to a pile of stones not far distant, and at the time thought but little of it. Several days afterward he made another visit to the stone, when he found that the rain had washed the dirt clean from it, and the rude engraving was much more distinctly to be seen.[5]

Of the appearance of the stone, he writes:

> It is about fourteen inches long by twelve inches broad and eight inches thick; a very heavy, hard, oval shaped stone, evidently a boulder, much worn, and from outward appearances, granitic, but perhaps approaching nearer to gneiss than granite; on it in the centre, is rather rudely engraved the figure of a tree with a serpent climbing it.[6]

Clark, Schoolcraft, and a number of other authors published representations of the stone or at least of its engravings. Few of these engravings agreed with one another and consequently only added to the problem of interpretation. The following adhers to the essential characteristics of the carving as far as the letters are concerned:

Leo. De L'on
VI 1520

Between the De and the L'on a crude, thin-line tree acts as a divisor, and a large rough X is under the L'on.

In an effort to account for so unusual a relic being found in the center of New York State, Clark reviewed briefly the history of the early exploration of North America, and concluded:

> When these facts are taken into consideration, and the extreme interest then felt by all classes of men, in the development of the resources of the new world, the avidity with which daring adventurers sought the most distant and imaginary sources of wealth; and the avarice, cupidity and desperation of these men, it may not appear incredible, that a party of Spaniards, either stimulated by the spirit of adventure, or allured by the love of gold, or driven by some rude blast of misfortune, may have visited this region, lost one of their number by death, and erected this rude stone with its simple inscription as a tribute to his memory, as early as the year 1520.[7]

After a time the stone was taken to a neighboring blacksmith shop, from whence it was removed to the museum of the Albany Institute, and finally to the State Museum in Albany.

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[5] II, 264.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 266.

Meanwhile Schoolcraft's elaborate explanation was going the rounds:

> By the figure of a serpent climbing a tree, a well known passage in the Pentateuch is clearly referred to. By the date, the sixth year of the reign of the Roman pontiff, Leo X, has been thought to be denoted. This appears to be probable, less clearly from the inscriptive phrase, Leo de Lon VI, than from the plain date, 1520, being six years after this pontiff took the papal chair.[8]

With a felicitous indifference to accuracy of dates, Mr. Schoolcraft then goes on to offer a probable explanation of the stone's origin:

> Florida had, however, then [1520] been known to the Spaniards for many years, having been discovered by De Leon in 1512, the very year that Leo X. assumed the papal chair. Its coasts and bays were known, as far west, at least, as the mouth of the Mississippi, which was evidently discovered by the Spaniards from Cuba in 1527. It was De Leon, however, who first visited the interior, and his visionary search for *the spring endowed with the property of restoring perpetual youth,* would hardly be credited, did it not rest on the best historical testimony. It is far more likely that some straggling party had reached the Iroquois country, from this Quixotic era of exploration, than from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, where the Cortereals were in 1501. And with this idea in mind, it may be thought that the name De Leon is intended, by the words De Lon. The date, VI, would tally exactly with the sixth year after the landing in, and discovery of Florida, in 1512; the Onondaga country being then, *as much a part of Florida as any other part of the Atlantic and interior coasts.* If by the prefix of Leo, or Lion, a compliment to a brave and hardy explorer was designed to have been expressed, it would have well corresponded with the chivalric character of that age. As a mere historical question, a claim to the discovery of the interior of New York, by the Spanish crown, might, in this view, find something to base itself on.[9]

In 1863 a greater name than that of Schoolcraft was brought forward to explain the intriguing inscription. In a paper submitted that year to the American Antiquarian Society in explanation of certain archaeological remains found in Fairfield and adjacent counties of Ohio, Buckingham Smith took occasion to mention the Pompey Stone. In his abstract of Mr. Smith's paper, the librarian of the Society, S. F. Haven, writes:

> Mr. Smith suggests that these inscriptions may possibly have been

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[8] *Notes on the Iroquois,* 326-327.
[9] *Ibid.,* 328-329.

derived from Spanish missionaries who penetrated the country at a very early period, of whom no account has been transmitted; and refers to the stone found in Onondaga County, N. Y., a well-authenticated relic, which has upon it the figures 1520, as perhaps determining the period of these memorials.

He says, that, of the many representations of that stone, there is a concurrence in thus much of the letters perceptible, divided by the figure of a tree intwined by a serpent, thus:

Leo De | N.
VI 1520 |

and as, in the year of Christ, 1520, Giovanni de Medici (Leo X) sat upon the Papal throne, the words might possibly have been

LEO DEcimus PONtifex MAXimus.[10]

The most elaborate defense of the authenticity of the stone took the form of a lecture delivered before the Oneida Historical Society on November 11, 1879, by Henry A. Homes, librarian of the New York State Library, and published in the *Transactions* of the Society for 1881 under the title "The Pompey, (N. Y.) Stone, with an Inscription and Date of A. D. 1520."

Dr. Homes prefaced his paper by a summary of previously advanced explanations of the origin of the rock and of its inscriptions. He then offered his own solution, and concluded by presenting a digest of the history of such early exploring ventures as might lend credibility to his theory.

> My position in a single proposition, is the following: The Pompey Stone is a memorial stone of a European, probably of a Spaniard, who previous to 1520, with one or more companions had been made a captive by the Indians in some part of North America, and both had been adopted as members of the tribe with which they were living, and one of them had become a Sachem. At the death of Leo a surviving companion carved on the stone his name with the month and year of his death, and emblems of his hope of an immortal life.[11]

Homes' opinion gained prestige from the fact that Berthold Fernow, keeper of the Historical Records of the State of New York, writing in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America,* adduced "the evidence of the Pompey Stone" in support of Spanish exploration of the Hudson River prior to the Dutch, and cited Homes' article in testimony.[12]

A more specific amplification was given the interpretation in

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[10] *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* 1863, 31-32.
[11] *Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society,* 1881, 87.
[12] IV, Boston, 1884, 434.

1896 by the Rev. Dr. John F. Mullany, of Syracuse, in the course of an historical sermon treating of Catholic beginnings in central New York.

> This region was visited by the Catholic priests upwards of one hundred years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, and long before the Dutch settled the New Netherlands on Manhattan island. The monumental stone discovered on Pompey Hill by Philo Cleveland in the year 1820, bearing the date 1520, carries back our local history 376 years from our own time—to a period when the Spaniards were making their discoveries in Florida. This stone, in all probability, was left by some missionary priest to mark the resting place of a companion who had fallen on his journey to the north in quest of souls. The inscription on the stone bears out this conclusion, for it is in ecclesiastical form used only by the Catholic clergy. Translated, it is as follows: Leo X., by the grace of God reigning,—sixth year of his pontificate. Pope Leo X. was crowned pope in the year 1514, and hence 1520 would be the sixth year of his pontificate. Besides, the stone crowned by a cross, bears the engraving of a tree in the center, with a serpent curled around it. This is an old Spanish emblem symbolizing reward and punishment. The stone is now in the state museum at Albany and is considered an authentic relic of antiquity.[13]

The true explanation of the Pompey Stone was made public only in 1894. The centenary of Onondaga County was celebrated that year. The occasion gave rise to a new interest in the county's history, and naturally its most famous rock came in for its share of attention. Mr. Homes' hypothesis was again advanced, but on this occasion the shrewdest of all Onondaga antiquarians, the Rev. Dr. William M. Beauchamp, Episcopal rector and one-time state archaeologist, determined to subject the stone to a critical examination. His findings were published in the Syracuse *Daily Journal* of June 9, 1894:

> To The Journal:—As is frequent in such cases, H. A. Home's paper on the Pompey stone could not be found when I returned home, and I may not have preserved it, as it threw no clear light on the subject. I can, however, give you its substance. He referred to the many instances of wandering white men in the sixteenth century, held as captives or adopted by the Indians, and so far his argument was good. Then he supposed this stone, which he thought a true relic, the monument of such a captive in Pompey, raised by a surviving companion. To this I answered that there were no Indian villages in Pompey at that date and the moist ground in which it was found was

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[13] John F. Mullany, *The Pioneer Catholic Church of the State of New York,* Syracuse, 1897, 2-3.

not suitable for burial. Accepting it as genuine, I hazarded the conjecture that some exploring party had placed it, as the French buried or placed lead plates, as an act or sign of possession. We neither of us, questioned the truth of the date, as I think no one has done. Mr. Homes made no critical remarks on this point, as he well might, for his knowledge of old books would have shown him features of doubt.

I owe it to your kindness that I could make a close examination of the stone this afternoon, and certainly with unexpected results. The inscription was not cut with a knife, but with several and somewhat different tools, and with blows from a hammer or mallet. Two of these tools were cold chisels of good quality, one having a straight and very sharp edge, nearly three-eights of an inch wide, and another a little narrower and rounded and dulled by use. These were used in certain parts of the work, and the lines at the top of the letters were made with a single stroke of the hammer. On the ornament in the right hand lower and elsewhere, a smith's punch was used, one with a dull but not broad point. What other tools were employed it is not necessary to say. A hammer, two cold chisels and a good punch would make a pretty good ket of tools for a wandering Spaniard and he may have found these enough. If any one thinks he carried them so far he may believe in the Pompey stone.

There is another feature which has received no notice. The characters are purely modern. The letter L is that of this century, not of the sixteenth. It is the fashion now to use old fashioned type, and if anyone will look at the letters in question the distinction will be seen. I have gone through a number of my books of that century, as well as some of the next, and in all, the terminal point of the capital L slopes forward, instead of being upright as on the stone. I think that this was invariable from 1500 to 1600, and general for a century later, but an expert could determine this and the next point at once.

The next point is that the numerals are modern characters, of uniform height and not reaching distinctly above or below the line. I find no figures like those until a long time after the date carved on the stone. Anyone can see this also, by taking a book of 150 or 200 years old. Especially it may be noticed that he will find no figure 5 like that on the stone. If no such book is accessible he may turn to books printed in the fashionable old types of to-day. These forms were in general use up to the beginning of this century.

Mr. Clark accounted for the fresh appearance of the work by the fact that, as it stood in a blacksmith's shop for some weeks people would "take a horse nail or old file and scrape all the cracks and seams and carvings, giving it somewhat the appearance of new work." This does not account for the clean, short cuts made by the cold chisel. I may add that I have investigated several frauds in every way more antique in character than this inscription.

You ask my opinion, and I simply give the facts, submitting the question to you in turn. According to the statement of the find the spot was unsuitable for either dwelling, camp or grove. At the date given there were no Indians living in Pompey and few in the county.

The work was done by a man of skill, and fair knowledge of modern, not of early books. He had a good supply of smith's or stone-cutter's tools. The characters are those of the nineteenth, not of the sixteenth century. Further deponent saith not.

Thanks to your consideration, I have now a close copy of the inscription, something not before obtained. It differs much from Clarke's figures, and all others which I have seen. No intelligent judgment can be rendered without this exactness. I wish a "squeeze" might be made, but am too busy to do it. The full notes I made will also be of further use, and for the present will find a safe place in the sixth volume of my "Onondaga Antiquities."

W. M. Beauchamp.

Two days later, June 11, 1894, the Syracuse *Daily Journal* carried the following letter from a well-known and highly respected citizen of Syracuse:

To The Journal—While being interested in what has been said about the Pompey stone, I have not been so [interested as] to think it worth while to give the facts as to its origin. Mr. Beauchamp's letter in the Saturday's Journal, however, calls for the facts for the purpose of showing what reliance can be placed on a man's opinion who makes one subject a special study.

My uncle, Cyrus Avery, who was born in Pompey and lived there during the early part of the century, told me the last time I saw him, 1867, that he and his nephew, William Willard, of this city, cut the figures on the Pompey stone, and just to see what would come of it. When it came out in Clark's history so much had come of it, they thought it best to keep still altogether.

I have no doubt the tools were those mentioned by Mr. Beauchamp, as such tools were exactly the ones most likely to be at hand in Grandfather Avery's blacksmith shop at Oran.[14]

Mr. Willard's friends will hardly credit his being interested in a practical joke of that kind, but Mr. Avery (a brother of the late Dr. Avery of Phoenix), was given to just that sort of thing. . . .

The Pompey stone is nothing more or less than a joke. It can hardly be called a fraud as it does not pretend to be anything, nor did the makers ever do anything to make it appear that it was. I doubt if either of them ever saw it after it was brought to light.

Really I hardly think the stone worth sending back to Albany, and

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[14] A small hamlet in the vicinity.

Mr. Beauchamp may congratulate himself upon having sized up the inscription so accurately.

Syracuse, June 11, 1894.
John E. Sweet.

The stone was taken back to Albany, however, and there escaped harm in the disastrous fire of 1911 which destroyed so many of the state's authentic historical records.

It appears that the element of farce has ever lingered close to the Pompey Stone. The stone now on display under that label at the State Museum presents only a portion of the inscription traced by Beauchamp in 1894, the carving gives evidence of rather recent tooling, and the date reads 1589!

Thomas F. O'Connor
Historiographer
Diocese of Syracuse, New York

A Great Mexican Theologian: Francisco Xavier Alegre (1729-1788)*

Perhaps more than one reader was surprised upon reading the title of this article, and immediately asked himself, with curiosity and incredulity, who the Mexican could be who deserved being regarded as a great theologian. How false and narrow a concept we are accustomed to have of our own country!

We have had it repeated to us so often, at home and abroad, that we have been led to believe that Mexico is a land rich only in crimes and revolutions. We have not had, to be sure, a great critic like Don Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo to carry forward in our country what he did in Spain: that is, to investigate with scientific objectivity, reconstruct, and revive with the potent breath of historical genius, the forgotten glorious monuments of the national heritage.

Nevertheless, we have the *Apuntaciones históricas acerca de la filosofía en México* and the *Bibliografía filosófica mexicana* of the well-known Monsignor Valverde y Téllez; the monumental bibliographical works of Eguiara, Beristáin, Icazbalceta, and Dr. Nicolás León; with regard to Mexican poetry the brilliant chapter devoted to the subject in Menéndez Pelayo's *Historia de la poesía Hispano-americana,* and the work of Pimentel, not to mention the recent and worth-while works of Carlos González Peña and Julio Jiménez Rueda; and other works of erudition, history, and criticism sufficient to demonstrate to us that in Mexico not only the fauna of crime and tyranny has thrived, but also the supreme flower of the soul, art, has bloomed, and the immortal fruits of human and Christian culture are cultivated: philosophy and theology.

"We have a brilliant heritage but we fail to recognize it," writes Alfonso Junco with justification. And so, in order to restrict ourselves only to the field of philosophy and theology, who of us has bothered or bothers to study and justly appreciate the works of Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz and Father Rubio, both

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* This article has been translated by J. Manuel Espinosa from the noted Mexican publication, *Abside, Revista de cultura Mexicana,* IV (April 1940), 3-17. The author, Father Plancarte, editor of *Abside,* recently visited the United States as a guest of our Department of State in the interests of a better understanding and appreciation of the respective cultures of Mexico and our country.

Spaniards, and the first students of early Scholasticism in our country, of Father Díaz de Gamarra who introduced to us modern post-Cartesian philosophy, of the great bishop of Michoacán, Don Clemente de Jesús Mungía, called the "Mexican Balmes?" Who has made an individual and complete study of the works, theological, literary, and scientific, by which the Mexican Jesuits exiled to Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century enriched our literature and placed the name of Mexico on a high pinnacle in Europe?

Some of this, a very minute part of this, is what is attempted here by a study of the theological work of one of our own compatriots, containing the fruits of my investigations concerning one whom I consider a great Mexican theologian: Father Francisco Xavier Alegre.

I

I will not tarry with the external biographical data about Father Alegre. Born in Vera Cruz on November 12, 1729, he made his first studies in his native city and in Puebla, in the Royal Seminary of St. Ignatius. He continued his studies in Mexico, then in Angelópolis, and entered the Society of Jesus on March 19, 1747. There, in the laborious silence of Tepotzotlán—which at that time was not a "well-known spot" for the profane admiration of tourists, but rather a fertile seeding ground of saints and poets—the young Alegre, at the age of nineteen, composed his "Alejandríada," an epic poem in elegant Latin hexameters on Alexander the Great, the conqueror of Tyre.

Professor of grammar in Mexico and in Vera Cruz, of philosophy and rhetoric in Havana, of Canon law in Mérida, Yucatán, everywhere he gave proof of his varied and solid erudition, which was being continually increased by his "insatiable love for study," and by his "inexhaustible search for knowledge," of which his contemporary biographer writes in the *De Auctoris Vita Commentarius* which precedes his volumes on theology.

Hence, he came to master, besides Greek and Latin, Italian, French, and English; "he penetrated the secrets of higher Mathematics" and wrote various works on the subject; he enriched his mind and heart with the assiduous and tireless reading of all the great writers of classical antiquity, of the Holy Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of the first centuries, and of the great theologians, philosophers, and literary figures of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. "Totally unbelievable," we are told by the same biographer, "is the quantity of volumes which he devoured in his youthful avidity for reading" (p. xi).

Father Alegre had scarcely completed the work which his superiors had charged him with writing, the *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España,* and was about to publish it, when the expulsion of the Order, decreed "in vandal-like manner," in the words of Menéndez Pelayo, "without reason or a legal trial," by the government of Charles III, in 1767, obliged him to depart as an exile to Bologna.

There he passed the last twenty years of his existence, consecrated to a life of piety, teaching, and study. During this time he produced, among many others, his two principal works, besides the history of the Society already referred to: Namely and first, the translation into Latin hexameter of the *Iliad,* whose only defect—if it may be called such—is, in the opinion of Menéndez Pelayo, that it is too "Virgilian." This has merited him the title of prince of our Latinists. And secondly, his great theological work *Institutionum Theologicarum libri XVIII,* to which he dedicated almost exclusively the last eighteen years of his life.[1] Death finally came, piously and peacefully, on August 16, 1788.

II

I have called Father Alegre's theological work a great work. That it truthfully is, not only in its physical dimensions of seven substantial volumes, but above all for "the soundness of doctrine," which, writes Menéndez Pelayo, parallels "the classical purity of its Latin,"[2] for its rich and flowing, but always dignified eloquence, and for the methodical clarity and vast erudition with which the author expounds and defends "against (contemporary) pagans, heretics, and philosophers . . . all the Dogmas, Mysteries, Sacraments and Rites of the Catholic Church," as is announced on the title page of the work.

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[1] Cf. Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, "La obra de los Jesuítas mexicanos en la Nueva España," *Abside,* V (May 1941), 330-332.

The title of Father Alegre's theological work is as follows: *FRANCISCI XAVERII — ALEGRII — Presbyteri Veracrucensis — INSTITUTIONUM THEOLOGICARUM — Libri XVIII — In quibus omnia Catholicae Ecclesiae Dogmata, Praecepta, My — steria, Sacramenta, Ritus adversus Paganos, Haereticos, — et Recentiores Philosophos Asseruntur, et Explicantur. — Tomus Primus. — Complectens. . .* — Venetiis, — Typis Antonii Zattae, et M. D. CC. LXXXIX.

In English translation: *XVIII Books of Theological Institutions—By Francisco Xavier Alegre, Priest of Veracruz—In which are defended and explained all the Dogmas, Precepts, Mysteries, Sacraments and Rites of the Catholic Church, against Pagans, Heretics and Modern Philosophers. Volume One, which contains . . .* Venice, Press of Antonio Zatta and Sons. With permission of the Superiors, and with Privilege. 1789.

This date of publication (1789) is that of the first three volumes; the fourth and fifth have the date 1790, and the sixth and seventh, 1791.

In the first volume there is an excellent portrait, a steel engraving, of Father Alegre, which has the following inscription: "D. Fran.us Xav.us Alegre Americ.us—Ciuis Veracrucensis—natus 12. Nov. 1729. Obijt. 16. Aug. 1788." And on the bottom of the portrait: "G. Vascellini scolpi."

It is not a theological manual, dry and elementary, like so many others of his day. Conceived on a grand scale, with the genial and universal spirit (today we would say "encyclopedic"), in which were written the immortal works of the great Scholastics of the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, St. Thomas, Scotus, Suárez, the *Institutions* of Father Alegre cover in a vast synthesis all the branches of theology, which, for the author, are the following:[3]

"Catechetical" theology, "by which are stated for the ignorant and the simple those things which all should believe explicitly"; "Polemic or Dogmatic" theology, "which does not concern itself only with stating to the ignorant the doctrines of the Faith, but also with winning the educated and the learned of this world, solving their arguments and confirming the truth of the Faith and proving with a multitude of reasons 'Dei testimonia nimis credibilia facta esse,' that is to say, the rational credibility of Christian revelation"; "Scholastic" theology proper, "which, presupposing the doctrine of Faith, explains it to the believers and the more advanced, with opportune questions and doubts about certain fine points existing among the faithful themselves, or rather resulting from the harmful interpretations of enemies"; the "Expositive," which, "investigating the most profound teachings of the written or unwritten Word of God, draws from it the doctrine which relates not only to the knowledge of things, but also to the guiding of one's life"; Moral theology, "which distinguishes vices from virtues, designating the proper limits of each, and harmonizes all acts of man, internal and external, according to the norm of the Faith and the rule of inspired doctrine"; and finally, Mystic theology, "in which, by heroic and supernatural virtues, and by the hidden action of the Holy Ghost, the soul disposes itself to a certain foretaste of future happiness and enjoys the sweet fruits of the same virtues."

To each of these, which "are not so much different types of Theology, but more correctly different parts and functions of one single" theological science, corresponds, says the author, one of what are called graces, "gratis datas," given by antonomasia: to the Catechetical the gift of tongues, to the Polemic or Dogmatic the gift of Faith, to the Scholastic the *"Sermo Scientiae,"* and the *"Interpretatio sermonum,"* to the Expositive the *"Sermo Sapientiae,"* to the Moral and the Mystic the Free Will: a beautiful parallel inspired in St. Paul and worthy of St. Augustine or St. Bonaventure.

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[2] Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España,* 9 volumes, Madrid, 1883-1891, V, 54.

[3] *Ibid.,* I, 7 ff.

All this vast material is reduced by Father Alegre into a brilliant architectural unity. Following an ordered plan different from that now used in teaching but no less logical and coherent, he erects the solid and grandiose edifice of his *Theological Institutions.*

It would be out of place and even impossible, in an article of the character and dimensions of this one, even to list all of the theological topics which Father Alegre develops in the eighteen books of his work. Suffice it to say there is no important question, dogmatic, moral, or of ecclesiastical history, which is not treated in it, either amply, with abundance of scriptural, patristic, and even humanistic erudition, or at least with brief but sufficient information.

Hence, I will limit myself to explaining the wise and exemplary position which our author adopts in relation to the diverse orthodox schools of theology, and then I will point out, very briefly, some of his doctrines, all of them notable from one point of view or another.

III

Father Alegre makes it clear that he is a fervent student of St. Thomas from the outset with his dedicatory prologue directed "To the Angelic Bishop and the Pastors and Doctors of the Catholic Church throughout the World," which begins thus:

> A certain modern writer, I do not know whether with greater impiety or foolishness, has stated that these are not times in which the testimony or authority of Saint Thomas has any value. In effect, this 'uninformed and rude century' delights in trifles, and, (like a sick man) of weak stomach, rejects the solid doctrine of the Catholic Faith.[4]

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[4] "Recentioris cuiusdam Scriptoris nescio an impia magis quam stulta vox fuit, non esse nunc tempora in quibus D. Thomae aut testimonium quicquam aut authoritas valeat. Nimirum 'saeculum insipiens et inficetum' nugas amat et solidam Catholicae Fidei doctrinam, velut languente stomacho, respuit."

Speaking farther on about the same Angelic Doctor, he states that the enemies of the Church hate St. Thomas as they do because they know:

> . . . that no other Catholic writer has treated theological subjects with greater thoroughness, conciseness and wealth of material; none has defined more strictly, divided with more nicety, explained more lucidly, confirmed with greater strength, or defended more robustly; has studied the Scriptures with greater diligence; expounded them with greater simplicity, or adduced with greater congruity; none has been more familiarized with the Greek and Roman Fathers, nor cited them more opportunely, nor referred to them with greater reverence; none has studied with greater care the Philosophers and profane authors of all types, nor understood them more correctly, or made them serve more felicitously the doctrine of the Church; none has corrected with greater modesty or refuted with greater efficacy the adversaries of the Faith, pagans, or heretics.[5]

And after this magnificent eulogy, he explains the general plan of his work with these words: "Avoiding all partisan passion, I present Saint Thomas, not removed from the center of the discussion, but rather in full flower, teaching, directing, and speaking in a style and method adapted to the present times."

But Father Alegre is not one of those who are accustomed to *"jurare in verba magistri."* A genuine student of St. Thomas, and precisely because of that fact, he knows well that the argument of human authority in speculative matters "is the weakest of all," and that the intelligent and free man should "hold under control" his understanding "out of respect for the Faith,"[6] thus using the expression of St. Paul.

Hence, Father Alegre does not bind himself in servile manner to any of the philosophical-theological schools: Thomism, Scotism, Suarism, or Molinism; rather, he affixes on the first page of his work, as the escutcheon and program of just scientific freedom, those noble words of St. Jerome, in his Epistle 152: "My purpose is: to read the Early Writers, examine everything, retain what is good, and not depart from the faith of the Catholic Church."

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[5] "Neminem Catholicorum rem Theologicam plenius pressiusque tractasse, ac locupletius; neminem aut definiisse strictius, aut divisisse subtilius, aut confirmasse nervosius, aut defendisse robustius; neminem Scripturas aut evolvisse diligentius, aut exposuisse simplicius, aut adduxisse congruentius; neminem Graecos et Latinos Patres aut trivisse frequentius, aut allegase opportunius, aut tractasse reverentius; neminem Philosophos atque omnis generis profanos authores aut enucleasse accuratius, aut intellexisse rectius, aut Ecclesiasticae doctrinae servire fecisse felicius; neminem adversarios fidei, sive Paganos sive Haereticos, aut correxisse modestius, aut confutasse efficacius."

[6] "In obsequium fidei."

"A free citizen of the Republic of Letters," like his contemporary Feijóo, was Father Alegre: an eclectic, we may say in the words of Menéndez Pelayo in reference to Luis Vives:

> As is any philosopher worthy of the name . . .; eclectic, in that he admits the truth wherever it may strike; eclectic, in that he does not submit his own reason and his own criterion to the reason of the teachers and the criterion of a definite school; eclectic, in that he does not submit to authority except "in matters of Faith"; eclectic, in that he professes the great principle: In essentials, unity; in doubtful matters, liberty.[7]

And so we see that Father Alegre, in some respects, supports some of the most characteristic theses of Thomism: "All the Angels differ among themselves specifically";[8] "The Sacraments produce Grace in the manner of an instrumental physical cause";[9] "In Christ there is only one Being of actual existence, and this is the divine one, or more clearly: the Humanity of Christ, insofar as it is distinguished from the Word, has no created existence of its own."[10] Yet, in other respects he parts from St. Thomas, for example in the thesis: "It is more probable that in the Subdeaconship and the other Minor Orders no Sacrament is conferred."[11]

He himself states categorically the freedom of judgment that should be exercised in debatable questions, and the licitness of the diverse schools which differ in the theological field within orthodox Catholicism: "For, what harm is there, (even more: what is there that is not necessary and laudable) in the differences, natural to human minds, of various Schools which accept the same Faith and which in diverse ways explain and propound it?"[12]

And he makes clear his position as a student of St. Thomas, at the same time not identifying himself blindly to any definite school:

> In the controversies which have arisen in the last centuries, we

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[7] Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *La ciencia española,* 2 volumes, Madrid, 1932, II, 15.

[8] T. III, L. V, Prop. 10.

[9] T. VI, L. XV, Prop. 1, n. 39-42.

[10] T. IV, L. X, Prop. 14, 445.

[11] T. VI, L. XVI, Prop. 9, n. 11-13.

[12] T. I, p. 5. "Nam quid mali habet, imo quid non necessarium, non habet laudabile, scholarum in eadem fide consentientium et eamdem fidem diversis modis explicantium et propugnantium, humanis ingeniis naturalis divisio?"

detest the passion of partisans as a plague pernicious to the freedom of opinion and to investigations in quest of truth. We follow only Saint Thomas, but without "taking oath to his words"; Saint Thomas, in whose time there was not yet any division into Schools of Theology, and whom the entire Church of Christ venerates and considers the spokesman and medium of the early Fathers, to such an extent that the name Thomas Aquinas appears to be the name not of a particular man, but of pure Theology itself.[13]

That profound love for St. Thomas, and that just freedom of criterion in the search for truth, shine resplendent throughout the entire work of Father Alegre, and are manifested above all in the unusual and surprising fact that, despite his undoubted and fervent love for the Society of Jesus, he parts frequently from the doctrines of its great theologians, Suárez, Molina, Bellarmine, Petavius, whose doctrines had become "quasi-official" in his Order, and he supports, in the extremely important matters of Divine Knowledge, the efficacy of Grace, and Predestination, doctrines which approximate Thomism more closely, although without going as far as strict Bañesianism.

I note this, not because I may or may not be in sympathy with such doctrines, but rather because, as previously indicated, I see in them an unequivocal sign and a proof of the absolute independence of criterion with which Father Alegre proceeded in the questions discussed; and that independence, that just scientific freedom, that sane eclecticism, even when on occasion, as is only human, it permits one to fall into error, is one of the essential qualities of any true thinker, is a condition *sine qua non* of all intellectual progress, and is, in any judgment, one thousand times more preferable than the servility of the *servum pecus* who refuses to think with the head God has given him.

IV

Other notable aspects of the theology of Father Alegre are the following:

In advance of many theologians of his time, he expounds admirably the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, demonstrating how it is in accord with the dogma of universal

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[13] T. I, p. 10. "Partium studium in his, quae posterioribus saeculis natae sunt, controversiis, tamquam *pestem opinandi libertati et veritatis investigationi inimicissimam* detestamur. Unum D. Thomam, *non tamen in ejus verba jurantes,* sequimur, cujus aetate nulla erat adhuc Theologicarum scholarum divisio, quem tota Christi Ecclesia veluti veterum Patrum linguam atque organum veneratur ac suscipit, perinde quasi Thomae Aquinatis nomen, non viri alicujus sed ipsius merae puraeque Theologiae nomen esse videatur."

Redemption, and how it is not contrary to the teaching of the early Holy Fathers, although our author does not decide to manifest himself openly in favor of the truth of the said doctrine, at that time not yet defined.[14]

Free from the Gallican contagion which infected such genial minds as Bossuet, he defends the infallibility of the Pope, although he is in error when he denies his definability as dogma of the faith.[15]

On the basis of the ordinary teachings and the common beliefs of the Church, he affirms that it would not only be "temerity" but also "impiety" to deny the corporal Assumption of Mary, but at the same time, with exemplary scientific integrity, he calls attention to the falsity or weakness of some of the arguments adduced to prove it.[16]

He defends the beautiful doctrine of Doctor Eximius—basis of true Christian democracy—according to which the civil authority is not given to sovereigns "directly" by God, but rather by the people.[17]

With virile energy he reproves as unjust and pernicious the traffic, then still common, of African slaves who were taken to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America; and he considers as unenlightened the zeal of those who, to free the Indians from slavery, advised that they be substituted by Negroes, thus only furthering that infamous traffic.[18]

He supports the opinion of St. Thomas—contrary to what is now, I believe, the common view of theologians—that the souls of purgatory cannot pray for the living, but only for themselves.[19]

Also following St. Thomas, he defends the Aristotelian opinion that *"mundi inceptio sola fide tenetur":* that is to say that only by faith, and not by reason, can there be certain proof that the world of creation is not eternal, an opinion at present rejected by Suarist, Scotist, and even many Thomist theologians.[20]

Influenced perhaps by the "parochialist" tendencies which during those years were crystallized into the subversive and almost schismatic exaggerations of the Synod of Pistoia, in 1786, he attempts to prove that the parish priests form a part of the hierarchy of jurisdiction, and that they exist *"ex Christi institutione"* (by divine institution) in the Church; since, he states, the apostles could not fulfill the divine mandate of teaching the Gospel to all peoples without the help of a lesser ministry, as are the parish priests.[21] Otherwise, this is the only point in which it appears that the theology of Father Alegre is in any way affected by the Gallican-Pistoiian theories which gained so much influence during those years.

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[14] T. IV, 293-299.
[15] T. V, L. XI, Prop. XV, (149-152).
[16] T. I, 262-266; VII, 25-26.
[17] T. IV, L. VIII, Prop. IX, (74-77).
[18] T. III, L. VI, Prop. VI, (289-290, n. 32).
[19] T. III, L. VI, Prop. XII, (294-295, n. 4-6).
[20] T. III, L. V, Prop. IV.

He makes a brilliant statement and defense of the much calumnied "dead hand," or Church properties, against its malicious detractors.[22]

With regard to liturgical music and the use of musical instruments in the church services, he sets forth beautiful ideas that might well be considered as precursors of the wise tendency blessed by His Holiness Pius X in his celebrated *Motu Proprio* on Sacred Music.[23]

In the ancient dispute concerning the corporal beauty of Christ, Father Alegre, as would be expected of a Christian humanist who loved beauty, adheres firmly to the affirmative statement.[24]

He treats amply the grave questions referring to the religious liberty of infidels, the right of conquest, and civil tolerance of pagans, Jews, and heretics; generally leaning in favor of the most respected doctrines of human liberty.[25]

On the origin, nature, and effects of indulgences, he expounds extensively and with originality, although he departs on certain points from the common doctrine of the Schools.[26]

Finally, with regard to games he sets forth interesting ideas, among which I was attracted by the curious, and debatable, evaluation of chess, which I quote below, and which undoubtedly will arouse the ire of the devotees of the game:

> For which reason, the game of chess is extremely boring, if considered from the viewpoint of the ultimate purpose of all games. For it is stupid to place in something fictitious and of little importance, great attention and an effort productive of cerebral fatigue. Best, therefore, is that game in which restfulness of mind is united with a moderate amount of bodily exercise.[27]

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[21] T. V, L. XII, Prop. XIII, (414-415, n. 25).
[22] T. V, L. XII, Prop. XII.
[23] T. III, L. VI, Prop. XVI, (236-237, n. 2).
[24] T. IV, L. X, Prop. XI, (Scholion, 417-418).
[25] T. III, L. VII, Prop. X.
[26] T. VI, L. XVI, Prop. VII.
[27] T. III, L. VI, Prop. 34, (479): "Unde ludus Scachorum pessimus est

Many other notable or curious aspects of the theology of Father Alegre could be noted, a work, in truth, worthy of mature and careful study.

For the present, I believe that what has been stated above is sufficient to give an idea of the high intrinsic value of the *Theological Institutions,* and to show that I have not exaggerated in calling Father Francisco Xavier Alegre a great Mexican theologian. Menéndez Pelayo refers to him as:

> . . . one of the finest ornaments of the Jesuit emigration of the time of Charles III, equally notable as historian of the Society of Jesus, as author of a course in theology in which the classic purity of the Latin equals the solidity of doctrine, and as a most elegant Latin poet. . . .[28]

And I do not wish to omit here two other passages in which the Spanish polygrapher refers to the theology of Father Alegre.

In the Bibliographical Inventory which is found in the third volume of *La ciencia española,* he writes: "In these *Institutions* he [Father Alegre] attempted to link the Scholastic Theology with the Positive, and with the study of languages and history."[29]

And in his *Historia de la poesía Hispano-americana,* expanding upon the eulogy which we saw in his *Historia de las ideas estéticas,* he refers to the *Theological Institutions* of Alegre as:

> . . . a work in which classic purity of diction, worthy of Melchor Cano or some other rare theologian of the Renaissance, equals the solidity of doctrine and the long study of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the immortal volumes of Saint Thomas, Suárez, and Petavius, whose teachings are presented there free, insofar as possible, of the rocky roads and thorns of Scholasticism.

This is the opinion of the great teacher, definitive, as is nearly always the case.

V

In the introduction of the *Theological Institutions*[30] there is an extensive biography of Father Alegre, *"De Auctoris Vita Commentarius,"* which has been mentioned above. For the biographical and bibliographical data which it contains it has been

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attento fine Ludi proximo. Stultum enim est in re umbratili et nullius momenti maximam attentionem et studium cum capitis defatigatione collocare. Optimus propterea ludus ille est, in quo mentis quies cum moderata corporis exercitatione conjungitur. . . ."

[28] Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia,* V, 54.

[29] *La ciencia,* 204.

[30] Pp. vii-xxxi.

the earliest and most reliable source for our bibliographers. Written in beautiful Ciceronian Latin, it constitutes a worthy preface to the theological work of Father Alegre. Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta reproduced it, in Spanish translation, at the beginning of the *Opúsculos inéditos* of Alegre published by him.

This biography is anonymous. Who wrote it? Icazbalceta himself[31] and Don Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo[32] attribute it to Father Manuel Fabri, also a Mexican Jesuit, but do not give their reasons for doing so. On the other hand Osores[33] writes that Father Agustín Pablo Pérez de Castro, another of our illustrious exiles, wrote and published in Italy a *Vida del P. Francisco Alegre, jesuita americano.* Osores does not indicate in what language this *Vida* was written, nor in what city it was printed, nor the date of its publication. It could be surmised, then, with some basis of probability, that this was the one which appears at the beginning of the *Institutions.*

Nevertheless, I believe that the opinion of Icazbalceta and Menéndez Pelayo is the correct one, and I believe that the basis for their statement is the following:

The anonymous author of the *Commentarius* on the life of Alegre refers to another biography also written by him, of Father Diego José Abad:

> . . . And in that way, through our efforts, some record of Alegre and Abad will be preserved: those two men who, similar in genius, equal in age, rivals in study and interests, and closely bound in friendship, honored with their writings the Province of Mexico and the Republic of Letters.[34]

We have no knowledge that Father Pérez de Castro wrote any biography of Father Abad. On the other hand, in the third edition of the *De Deo Deoque Homine Heroica,* Cesena, 1780, there appears a biography of Father Abad signed with the initials E. F.; initials which in the following edition, Cesena, 1793, are substituted by the complete name "Emmanuel Fabri." It appears justifiable to believe that this biography of Abad is the one referred to by the author of the Alegre *Commentarius,* and that, therefore, Father Manuel Fabri is the author of both.

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[31] Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed., *Opúsculos inéditos, Latinos y Castellanos, Del P. Francisco Javier Alegre,* Mexico, 1889, vii.

[32] Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Bibliografía hispano-latina clásica,* Madrid, 1902, 809.

[33] Félix Osores, *Noticias bio-bibliográficas de alumnos destinguidos . . . del Colegio de San Ildefonso,* Mexico, I, 39, II, 144.

[34] " . . . Eoque pacto, duorum qui ingenio similes, aetate pares, in studiis aemuli, amicitia conjunctissimi, Abadii Alegriique, Mexicanam Provinciam litterariamque rem scriptis illustrarunt suis, aliqua ad posteros *per nos* memoria perennabit."

Who was this Father Manuel Fabri? A Mexican Jesuit, but probably of Italian origin as his name would seem to indicate. The well-known bibliographer of the Society, Sommervogel, tells us that he was born in the city of Mexico on November 18, 1737, entered the novitiate on January 31, 1754, was deported to Italy with his companions, and died in Rome on March 17, 1805.[35] To judge from his biographies of Abad and Alegre, Father Fabri should be placed beside the two whose biographies he wrote, among our finest Latinists.

GABRIEL MÉNDEZ PLANCARTE

Director, *Ábside*
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[35] Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* nouvelle édition, 11 volumes, Brussels, 1890-1932, III, col. 510-511.

Notes and Comment

With deep regret we hear of the death of Father Raymond Corrigan, S. J., editor of *The Historical Bulletin,* and professor of history at St. Louis University. For years he has been a familiar figure at meetings of historical associations. A tribute by William J. McGucken, S. J., appears in the pages of *The Historical Bulletin* for March 1943.

The same number of this periodical has a biographical sketch of the late Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, by Thomas F. O'Connor.

Teachers, students, and investigators in the field of Western American history will find very useful Oscar Osburn Winther's *The Trans-Mississippi West: A Guide to Its Periodical Literature. 1811-1938,* Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series No. 3, Bloomington, 1942, pp. 203. It is topically arranged, individual states and regions comprising the most important groupings. It is a reference work which should be in every library. The volume contains 3,501 items, all well cross-indexed. Twenty items from MID-AMERICA are listed. The only periodical omission noted was that of the Missouri Historical Society *Collections,* now extinct, but containing a number of fine articles on the Missouri frontier and the early fur trade of the trans-Mississippi region.

Bibliographies in American History. Guide to Materials for Research, second edition, by Henry P. Beers, came out last year from the press of H. W. Wilson Company, New York. About 4,000 new titles have been added to those of the 1937 edition. There need be no comment upon the value of this publication to students.

After a series of disappointments Ronald Hilton has brought out his *Handbook of Hispanic Source Materials and Research Organizations in the United States* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1942). This is a commendable work. It will prove useful, although some of the contributors attribute too much significance to their respective collections.

The Lost Peace, A Personal Impression, by Harold Butler (Harcourt, Brace, 1942), describes how the peace of Europe could have been saved after the last war, even without the League of Nations. Mr. Butler was director of the International Labour Office. In the later chapters of his book the writer lays down guiding principles based upon the Christian code of ethics as necessary for an abiding peace in the future.

Dr. Syngman Rhee, native of Korea but now for long an appreciative resident of this country, paints a decidedly black picture of Japan and its aims in his *Japan Inside Out—The Challenge of Today* (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1942). The work was prepared before Pearl Harbor, yet it indicates the inevitability of the conflict, owing to the trend of the Japanese political mind.

Dr. John J. Wright has published his doctoral dissertation, *National Patriotism in the Papal Teaching* (The Stratford Company, Boston, 1942), as a moral treatise from the Papal pronouncements on patriotism. The distinction between correct patriotism, excessive nationalism, internationalism, and the various isms offered as solutions for the shattered world politics, is clearly drawn by Father Wright.

Those interested primarily in judicial aspects of our national progress will find pleasant hours reading *The Growth of American Constitutional Law,* by Professor Benjamin F. Wright, published in 1942 by Cornwall Press, New York. According to the contention of Professor Wright amply verified in the book, "our most characteristic political institution" is the doctrine of judicial review.

Celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Great Bible, the University of Chicago Press has brought forth the monograph, *The First Authorized English Bible and the Cranmer Preface,* by Harold R. Willoughby. The study has to do with the typography and layout of this and the seven folio editions which appeared between 1539 and 1541. A bibliography and two excellent facsimiles are given.

The trend toward making the historical magazines and journals more appealing to the eye has been followed most recently by *Michigan History* and *Wisconsin Magazine of History.* The former came out in its new garb in the Winter Number, XXVII, No. 1, 1943. A number of photographs appear within the pages between the new colored cover. *Wisconsin Magazine of History* has a picture of the "Red Pieta" panel of the mural in the new postoffice at De Pere, Wisconsin, while the first fourteen pages are devoted to pictures from the special exhibitions prepared by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. This "Experiment in Using History" is entitled "Worth Fighting For." Each page represents something worth fighting for: Opportunity, The Land, Conservation, Free Schools, Academic Freedom, Religious Freedom, Political Freedom, Racial Equality, Woman's Rights, Freedom of Expression, Rights of Labor, Freedom from Want, Freedom from Fear, and Justice for All.

Book Reviews

The Life of Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, C. M.: First Bishop of St. Louis, 1789-1843. By Reverend Frederick John Easterly, C. M. Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History, Vol. XXXIII. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1942. Pp. xi, 203.

The multiple and complex nature of the duties that fell to the care of Joseph Rosati as seminary director, religious superior, coadjutor, administrator, bishop, and apostolic delegate invest his career with more than average significance, and offer latitude as well as a challenge to his biographer. At the same time, few of our pioneer bishops were possessed of the historical instinct which led the first bishop of St. Louis perseveringly to record the day by day events of his life and to abstract and preserve the voluminous correspondence that passed through his hands. Dr. Easterly has been singularly favored both in his subject and in the abundance and merit of the materials available for his researches.

The story of Bishop Rosati's episcopal labors in the Mississippi Valley has already been set forth capably and at length by the historians of Catholic endeavor in that region—Souvay, Holweck, Rothensteiner, Garraghan, and others. Ricciardelli in his *Vita del Servo di Dio Felice De Andreis* had of necessity to treat of the assistance rendered by Father Rosati to his venerable superior in the foundation of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States. The distinctive contribution made by the present study is, therefore, for the most part one of approach and orientation rather than of the revelation of any significant amount of hitherto unknown facts. The exception to this is in the author's account of Father Rosati's priestly life in Italy and in his very definite addition to the commonly known details of his mission to Haiti.

The outstanding merit of Dr. Easterly's work is its virtually complete reliance upon primary sources. As a general and fundamental norm of procedure such a technique is deserving of the very highest commendation. But in a field so many aspects of which have already been cultivated by able scholars, it remains at least a question whether a prudent auxiliary use of these critical studies would not have clarified a number of matters without interfering with the author's reliance upon primary sources. Moreover, while fully appreciating the limits demanded by time and space, the reviewer cannot avoid feeling that the integration of these purely ecclesiastical sources with the abundant extant documentary materials illustrative of the social and cultural life of the Valley in that period would have added clarity to the exposition of the situations which Bishop Rosati had to meet in the administration of his heterogeneous diocese. The impact of the Anglo-American frontier upon the Creole patterns of life in the older villages gave rise to a state of affairs which was not duplicated in the fresh-sprung towns which owed their existence to the advance of frontier settlement. The Creole civilization itself presented problems which were encountered but rarely at this period outside of the Mississippi Valley and Louisiana. Certain unhappy aspects of the early Creole hegemony hampered Bishop Rosati in his efforts at diocesan development, much as they had hampered his predecessor, Bishop Du Bourg. The fact that they failed to occasion much hindrance to his successor, Bishop Kenrick, is due in part to the effectiveness of the course of action inaugurated by Bishop Rosati.

Considering that the author is, neither by birth nor continued residence, a westerner, he has succeeded admirably in familiarizing himself with the general Catholic history of the western country. Errors of fact have been reduced to a minimum, although it might here be pointed out that the log cabins in which Bishop Flaget first housed his Kentucky seminary were located, not at Bardstown (p. 41), but at St. Stephen's, now Loretto, the site of the Motherhouse of the Sisters of Loretto.

The "Essay on the Sources" is very well done, and will be found helpful by all who have occasion to check the manuscript materials of western Catholic history. It is to be regretted that the author did not have access to the substantial file of the *Shepherd of the Valley* in the St. Louis University Library.

Dr. Easterly joins distinguished company in entering the ranks of the Catholic historians of the West. The present work can hardly be considered the final word on Bishop Rosati, but it does plot out the pattern upon which the author should proceed to produce the definitive life of that truly great prelate.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR

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From Barter to Slavery, The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580. By Alexander Marchant. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LX, Number 1. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1942. Pp. 160.

The more important collections of printed documents pertaining to the history of colonial Brazil have long been available for study in this country, but little use has been made of them. Utilizing these materials, and weighing his findings with the conclusions of the pertinent standard secondary sources such as Varnhagen, Simonsen, Almeida Prado, etc., Dr. Marchant has made an important contribution to our knowledge of the economic relations of the Portuguese and Indians in sixteenth-century Brazil.

As the author points out, the term barter as used in this study is expanded to mean "the giving of goods by the Portuguese to obtain from the natives not only goods but also labor." The study is divided into three periods: 1500-1533, 1533-1549, and 1549-1580. During the first period, the brazilwood traders, and Portuguese coastguards protecting the region from French interlopers, were the first to enter into economic relations with the natives. "Though the purpose of one was economic and the purpose of the other was military, both obtained goods from the Indians and both seemed to have assumed that barter was necessary to get those goods; . . . they created a pattern of behavior that their Portuguese successors would follow in later contacts with the natives." In the case of the coastguards, barter was used to obtain food. In the case of the brazilwood traders, barter was used in exchange both for the felling and stripping of trees in the forest and for delivering the wood at a coastal factory in a form suitable for loading on the ships. Two possibilities were thus opened up for the later Portuguese. "The first was the continuation of barter, in the strict sense of the term: simply the giving of goods for goods. The second was the use of barter to obtain labor alone, and this second use was to become increasingly important when the later Portuguese began to give the natives goods to induce them to cultivate crops."

In the second period, with the *donatarios,* new elements were introduced into the economic pattern. "In the first place their going to Brazil to live distinguishes their colonies from the more or less transient posts from which the traders had conducted their exploitation of the land. In the second, the existence of their plantations implies the need for abundant and disciplined labor and suggests that some other than the usual barter relation would be necessary to provide it." Meanwhile, the exploitation of brazilwood soon exhausted the near-by supply, and it was necessary to go deeper into the hinterland to cut the wood. The result was that the Indians demanded more valuable goods in recompense. "Now the times were out of joint. The Indians were free to supply food and labor in exchange for wares; they were likewise free to refuse so to supply the Portuguese. . . . Confronted with a barter system that was breaking down, the Portuguese, more than ever in need of labor, found an alternative in enslavement, and, with the passage of time, efforts at enslaving the Indians for plantation labor became more and more likely." Slavery was no novelty among the Indians, who had long enslaved enemies captured in their tribal wars, nor was it a novelty to Europeans. Indian wars, a concomitant of settlement in Brazil, appear to have had two relations to the economic problem: first, "retaliatory wars, begun by natives against settlers who, faced with the need of plantation labor and with the breakdown of the barter system, resorted to slavemaking"; second, "intertribal wars of natives, participated in to a greater or less degree by the Portuguese or French, which produced captives as slaves."

During the third period studied, with Brazil now under direct royal administration, the economic pattern of Brazil, founded in part on the earlier experience, was fixed for centuries to come. The first royal governor, Thomé de Sousa, and the Jesuit missionaries, who accompanied him, set the future pattern. "Sousa's solution was a compromise between the wishes and wants of the Indians, the settlers, and the King. First, he ordered that only those Indians who had shown themselves hostile to the Portuguese were to be assaulted, and, even then, only by the governor's army or by the settlers acting with his license. The captives made in what came to be called 'licit wars' might then legitimately be enslaved. . . . Sousa's second step was to regulate the intercourse of the natives with the Portuguese, using, when possible, barter as the method and the Jesuits as his agents. . . . A common desire to fix the wandering Indian tribes in villages near the Portuguese settlements was the starting point of the work of the governor and the Jesuits." The magnificent Jesuit *aldeia* system was thus begun. "The government and the Jesuits thus stood between the settlers and the Indians, insisting on the return to the familiar practice as a means of winning the interest of the free Indians, of giving them independence from the settlers, and, at the same time, of giving the Portuguese the benefit of their food and labor. As a consequence, different conditions of the Indians had different relations with the Portuguese. Free Indians [those on the Jesuit missions] could use barter, and the restored system existed side by side with the forced labor of the slave Indians."

Dr. Marchant's conclusions are well documented and convincingly set forth. The study is followed by a bibliographical note, in which the sources used are briefly evaluated, and a useful index.

Statements on pages 68 and 84 concerning the varying degrees of civilization of the natives seem contradictory. The Jesuit *aldeia* system is not clearly described, and the terms *casa, collegio, igreja* are used incorrectly. On pages 97 and 98 no distinction is made between the word *meninos* as applied to children in general and the Portuguese orphans in particular, who are the *meninos* in question in several cases on these pages. The exact character of the document briefed in the appendix might have been more fully described.

But these criticisms are all incidental. The monograph is a real contribution to the study of the history of colonial Brazil, and is another evidence of the widening interest in Brazilian studies in this country.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Institute of Jesuit History

Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815-1827. Edited with notes and introduction by Grace Lee Nute. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1942. Pp. xix, 469.

The preface of this volume of documents written by Solon J. Buck explains the reason behind its publication. This is the first of a series of documentary *Publications* now being prepared by the Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission to honor the name of Alvord. Everyone acquainted with the life work of Professor Alvord will agree with the short tribute paid him by Mr. Buck, and more so with the concrete expression of the tribute arising in this and ensuing volumes dedicated to the memory of him.

Miss Nute in her introduction of some eight pages has prepared the setting for the *Documents.* The many letters and instructions "tell the story of the resumptions of Catholic missions among the Indians of the Northwest" from 1815 to 1827; the French and Latin letters are given in the original and in translation, while those already published in French elsewhere are given only in the English translation. In the broader setting the volume has to do primarily with Catholic missions and with the establishment of a bishopric in the Northwest and an archbishopric in Canada, or, with hierarchical organization. But the letters are light on Lord Selkirk's Red River Valley colony and on the colonization of Minnesota, North Dakota, and Manitoba. The correspondence pertaining to the advent of priests into the area, between Lord and Lady Selkirk and Bishop Plessis, between the priests and their shepherd, and the subsequent writings of notable pioneers of the upper Mississippi Valley settlements and missions, are full of interest.

Jerome V. Jacobsen

Loyola University, Chicago

The Educational Aspects of the Missions in the Southwest. By Sister Mary Stanislaus Van Well, O. S. B. Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 1942. Pp. 161.

This paper-covered volume is a considerably abridged printing of the author's doctoral dissertation. Despite the shortening nothing of the inherent value of the research work is lost. For the many items of information with respect to broader aspects of education on colonial frontiers and as a model for the evolution of a dissertation it may be read and studied with great profit by modern educators.

The scene for Sister Stanislaus' study is the Southwest, specifically, New Mexico, Arizona, Lower California, and Upper California. The time is the mission period. The term education is used in its broader sense, that is inclusive of formal, informal, vocational, and adult education. The question answered is: What did the missions contribute to the cultural heritage of the Southwest? The plan of attack: Definition of education and the social institutions which further it. The missions as communities have long been recognized as beneficial frontier institutions, for by means of them the Indians were taught the ways of civilized life. As such, missionaries of the Franciscan, Jesuit, and Dominican Orders, fashioned procedures which have been followed by the United States Government in its handling of reservations. The missionaries formally taught the three R's, singing, elocution, doctrine, morals, and even Latin, history, Spanish, ritual, and general science to the younger neophytes. Less formally the natives in general were instructed in cooking, sewing, laundering, nursing, poultry raising, stock raising, gardening, dairying, plant production, agriculture, road building, carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, care and repair of implements, shoes, houses, harness, and various of the finer arts of fashioning weapons, wood carving, and pottery.

The missions then are described in operation and as applying these elements of culture in their respective areas. Many of the famed missionaries pass in review as leading purveyors of the Old World culture.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

The Wisconsin: River of a Thousand Isles. By August Derleth. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1942. Pp. xi, 366.

August Derleth has written of the scenic beauties of the Wisconsin with great enthusiasm, and has displayed a thorough knowledge of its natural features. In describing the early history of the river valley, the author has been less happy. His facts may be fairly accurate, but are sometimes stated in a way to create misconception in the mind of the reader; and his narrative of relations between white and Indian is strongly biased by a sentimental view of the Red Man. Mr. Derleth never finds the Indian in the wrong or the white man in the right.

There is, of course, no denial of the fact that the Indians were sometimes mistreated or cheated by the white men, but the attitude that all the troubles of the natives ensued upon the coming of the white men can hardly be supported by facts. The evil of drink was introduced by the traders, in spite of the opposition of the missionaries, who had the welfare of the Indian at heart rather than a desire to further trade at all costs. The evil of warfare, however, the Indians had acquired before the settlers came. Internecine war, in which sometimes whole tribes were wiped out, and during which horrible tortures were practiced on captives, was carried on long before the arrival of the white man.

Sentimentalists about the Indians do not consider the conditions which were to be found everywhere two hundred years ago. In times when peasants in Europe were put to death for petty thefts or poaching; when men and women, white as well as black, were sold into bondage which sometimes meant a living death; it is hardly to be expected that the rights of natives would be respected as they might be today. The idea that the Indians were cheated by being persuaded to sell Manhattan Island for a small amount predicates that that site would be worth millions today if the Indians still held it.

The incident of the so-called Red Bird massacre is typical of Mr. Derleth's attitude. The Winnebago had murdered a settler and his family and several had been arrested. The Sioux, anxious to incite the Winnebago to join them in warfare against the white men, lied to the Winnebago, stating that the prisoners had been cruelly tortured to death. Chief Red Bird, taking reprisal for the supposed deaths, visited a white family, accepted an invitation to breakfast and then, with his companions killed the father and a hired man, and scalped a baby. The mother and a small child escaped and gave the alarm. Later Red Bird surrendered and died in prison while awaiting trial. Mr. Derleth seems to feel that here all blame rests on the whites.

The author tells of the coming of the intrepid Perrot; of the historic journey of Father Marquette and Joliet; of La Salle and his faithful friend, Tonti; of Hercules Dousman and the early days of Prairie du Chien; and of later events in the history of Wisconsin. The statement that Perrot left no post in the Wisconsin River Valley does not agree with the marker in Prairie du Chien on the site of Fort St. Nicholas, established by Perrot supposedly.

The Jesuit missionaries receive tribute from the author for their efforts to help the Indians and for the value of their *Relations.* However, there are two passages which give a wrong slant to their activities. It is stated, for instance, that Father Allouez went to the settlement at Green Bay to forestall the Sulpitians, who were planning to begin mission work on the bay at the mouth of the Fox. Another statement is that the Jesuits stopped publication of their *Relations,* rather than comply with the Pope's requirement of 1673 that all reports of mission work be authorized by the Congregation of the Propaganda.

It is unfortunate that the controversy over the Badger Ordnance Works at Baraboo should be dragged into the book. Mr. Derleth takes sides violently with those who felt that the plant should have been put in another locality, disregarding the possibility that the Army had valid reasons for selecting that locality.

The narrative is marred frequently by long and involved sentences and the style is not Mr. Derleth's best. There is a comprehensive bibliography, including a few manuscripts, at the end of the book.

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL

Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

MID-AMERICA

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Duarte da Costa, Second Governor-General of Brazil

The attempt of the royal house of Portugal to organize and administer Brazil through a strong central control, with a governor-general as king's deputy residing in the colony, was an important and critical step forward in Brazilian development. The colony before 1549, by its products, had shown its value for revenue; the disorganization within the captaincies and the dangers from encroachments by French and Spanish showed the need for definite and firm control if it were to be retained as Portuguese. This control the governor-generalship was designed to provide.

The first incumbent, Thomé de Sousa, who held the new office from 1549 to 1553, proved a wise choice. He showed prudence, strength and judgment, and carried the burdens of the governorship so well that at the end of four and one-half years he left with honor and a high degree of popularity. The detailed instructions of his *Regimento*[1] involved three principal tasks: (1) to found a colonial capital, (2) to reduce the whole colony to order, and (3) to expel foreign intruders from the coast and hinterland. In compliance with these orders Sousa founded and built the city of Bahia. With the aid of the Jesuits and a few of the able and friendly natives and residents he made progress toward establishing inter-racial harmony, while with the help of his official staff, he introduced legal and fiscal reforms within the captaincies. He had, however, neither the time nor the means to cope with foreign intruders. Nevertheless he has properly been accorded a high place among distinguished figures of Brazilian colonial history.[2]

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[1] *História da Colonização portuguesa do Brasil,* 3 volumes, Pôrto, 1924, III, 345-350 (December 17, 1548). The royal instructions contained 48 clauses.

[2] J. F. da Rocha Pomba, *História do Brazil,* 10 volumes, Rio de Janeiro,

But a four-year term in this lawless frontier colony was too brief for more than a beginning. Certainly it gave no opportunity to settle the complications implicit in the mixed population, and in spite of all that was accomplished, there were constant outbreaks. The relations between the white landholders and the native inhabitants were a problem which beset the colony for many decades.[3] Sousa was quickly sated with the anxieties and responsibilities of his newly contrived office and begged the king to recall him. He withdrew to Portugal with acknowledged pleasure and relief, and with the honor of having acquitted himself well—"praised by missionaries, respected by citizens, feared by evildoers."[4] In Portugal, however, Sousa maintained his interest in Brazilian affairs, serving as adviser to the king, and, by constant correspondence with Father Nóbrega, following the course of events in Brazil closely.

Duarte da Costa, Sousa's successor, took over the office on July 13, 1553, under the most unfavorable circumstances. He lacked completely the magnetic, attractive personality of his popular predecessor, no less than the inner qualities necessary for his office. Most historians of sixteenth-century Brazil describe the following four years as a period of retrogression. A few attribute the misfortunes of the second governor to the perversity of fate. Many of the difficulties which he encountered were not of his own making and were wholly beyond his control. From the standpoint of administration the colony was yet very weak and unstable; the problems of population were still unsolved; the centralizing and organizing of the government was still in the initial and experimental stage. A year before the close of Sousa's term, he had asked for drastic reforms. It was a difficult time for the new governor to assume office and for the governed to accept the change. Only supreme qualifications of man and subordinates could have carried straight forward the designs set up in Portugal. Indeed, it is perhaps doubtful whether even the strong, politic, and virtuous Sousa could have been wholly successful without changes and greatly increased financial support. He had asked for the abandonment of certain offices; he had found some of the king's appointments unsatisfac-

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1905, III, 335. For a brief study in English of Thomé de Sousa and a paraphrase of the royal instructions, see R. L. Butler, "Thomé de Sousa, First Governor of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (October 1942), 229-251.

[3] Pedro Calmon, *História da civilização Brasileira,* São Paulo, 1940, 41-47.

[4] Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil,* 2 volumes, São Paulo, 1939-1941, I, 252.

tory; he had needed naval reinforcements; and upon his return from an examination of the southern provinces, he had found conditions in Bahia in a most discouraging state.[5]

Duarte da Costa was the second son of Álvaro da Costa. Álvaro, as ambassador for Dom Manuel at the court of Charles V, had arranged the marriage for Dom Manuel to Doña Leonor, who became Manuel's third wife. Dom Duarte grew up in court life and his family enjoyed the patronage of John III, his brother serving as an important royal councilor. He held various honorary offices but had no experience in civil or military life that would qualify him for his responsibilities in Brazil. Nor had he the youth and vigor necessary for the position. In view of his economic circumstances the salary could not have been a deciding factor. It is impossible to believe that the Conde da Castanheira to whom the development of this colony and the appointment of the first governor was of such great interest could have made the choice.[6] Of documents concerning the matter only the royal letter of appointment[7] survives, so no light can be cast upon the reason for the choice of da Costa. Nóbrega, however, had the year previously taken the matter of Sousa's successor so to heart that he addressed a plea to the king begging that the greatest care be taken, not to send a bachelor or too young a man, but preferably one who would bring a wife and family to live in Brazil and serve as an example for the provincial captains and the people.[8] Nóbrega's advice was followed.

Da Costa sailed from Lisbon on May 8, 1553, on the same ship, the *Conceição,* by which Sousa had traveled. Besides this vessel there were three caravels in the fleet. In contrast with the thousand persons who had accompanied Sousa, only 260 went out with da Costa. Among these there were nine orphans, who went in pursuance of the policy of sending marriageable women to Brazil, and seven Jesuits. The Jesuits were Luiz da Grã,[9] leader of the group and formerly rector of the College of Coimbra, Braz Lourenço, Ambrósio Pires, José de Anchieta, João Gonçalves, Antonio Blásquez, and Gregório Serrão, the latter four being brothers.[10] The governor also brought his eldest son, D. Álvaro, who was to prove the greatest liability of his administration.

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[5] Before leaving Brazil, Sousa had proposed the following reforms: The simplification of offices by concentrating war and defense in the office of captain general and abandoning the office of *provedor mór,* accumulating those duties with those of *Ouvidor geral;* the creation of office of *Alcaide môr* of Bahia to serve as lieutenant governor in the governor's absence from that city; a provision that all captains live in their respective captaincies; establishment of a coast guard to the north and south, especially against French and Spanish contrabandists; a search for gold. *Colonização,* III, 364-366, Letter of Sousa to the king, June 1, 1553.

[6] *Colonização,* III, 339-341. The new governor was granted 600$000 instead of the 400$000 annual allowance to Sousa.

[7] *Documentos históricos,* XXXV, xii, 172-177.

[8] *Cartas Jesuiticas,* 3 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1933, I, 134-135. Nóbrega to the king, 1552. As a matter of fact, Pernambuco, the most successful of all the captaincies, had been governed in exactly this way. Its captain general, Duarte Coelho, came with his family; his sons were born in Brazil and sent back to Portugal only for education, and during the interim between Coelho's death and the maturity of his eldest son, his wife carried on the government.

The arrival in Bahia on July 13, 1553, the meeting of the two governors and of the bishop and D. Duarte have been described dramatically by Pedro Calmon.[11] Sousa left for Portugal almost immediately. Concerning da Costa, contemporary letters, which are chiefly those of the Jesuits, make little mention during the first year.[12] It is definitely established, however, that the new governor did not work with or benefit by the close association with the Jesuit Fathers upon whom Sousa had been dependent. Da Costa unwisely remained aloof, and although he was not unfriendly toward them he showed great lack of wisdom in not realizing that they were indirectly the most important agents of the Portuguese government among the Indians. In fact, da Costa did not seem to be particularly concerned with this fundamental problem—the improvement of the relationship between the races. He did not protect the free Indians; settlers were allowed to continue to make slaves, which naturally caused great disturbance; and da Costa lost control of both settlers and Indians.

Apparently the only extant documents concerning this administration are the numerous *provimentos,* both ecclesiastical and secular,[13] five letters from da Costa to the king dated from April 11, 1554, to June 1555, a few letters of complaint from minor officials, and a long report from the bishop of Brazil to the king dated April 11, 1554.[14] All of these latter communications are of such a highly personal and controversial nature that the only picture of Brazilian affairs they present is one of general confusion. Besides these there are only the letters of the Jesuit missionaries.

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[9] For a study of Grã's place in Brazilian history, see the article by J. Manuel Espinosa, "Luiz da Grã, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (July 1942), 118-216.

[10] Serafim Leite, *História de Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* 2 volumes, Lisbon, 1938, I, 561.

[11] Pedro Calmon, *José de Anchieta, o Santo do Brasil,* São Paulo, 1930, chapter 1. Considering the great amount of historical research which Calmon has done in this field, one cannot but believe that he has caught the atmosphere in this literary evocation.

[12] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, Letters of Manuel da Nóbrega, 1549-1560, and II, *Cartas avulsas, 1550-1568,* by various members of the order; Serafim Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas,* São Paulo, 1940.

[13] *Documentos históricos,* XXXV, 172-406.

Da Costa had arrived in Brazil in July and by November found himself completely at variance with the other supreme authority of the colony, Bishop Sardinha,[15] a state of affairs which continued during the two years following.

Perhaps a quarrel between these two men was inevitable. Both were overzealous in maintaining the dignity of their offices and both displayed a singular lack of tact in dealing with the other. Moreover neither of them seems to have been able to readjust his mind to colonial conditions as they existed in Brazil. The bishop, unlike the Jesuits, was more interested in establishing his See according to the European pattern than in converting the natives, and da Costa unfortunately always regarded him as a rival rather than as a partner. Yet the authority of these two men converged at certain common points and, most unfortunately, one of these involved the governor's son, Dom Álvaro, an experienced soldier of proved valor in Africa, who was at once the most capable military officer in the colony and the ringleader of turbulent companions. Unquestionably the bishop was responsible for the morals of the colony, but, when he publicly condemned D. Álvaro as a libertine, the governor declared the punishment excessive and dictated by personal malice. Without maintaining that his son was blameless, he accused the bishop of listening to scandalmongers and of exaggerating D. Álvaro's misdemeanors. Thus matters which should have remained personal and private became public issues. Even some of the canonry became involved and not a few of the government officials as well as Álvaro's immediate friends.[16] The bishop felt that all of his efforts toward reform in this land of excesses and lawlessness would be frustrated under the influence of Álvaro and his associates. He was severe and uncompromising and over a period of two years the friction between the governor and the prelate fanned itself into the major confusion of the administration with the wayward son as the center. Leite concludes, "Upon examining impartially the existing documents, representative of each, it appears that the blame must be placed upon all concerned, but especially upon the governor's son and D. Pedro Sardinha."[17]

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[14] *Colonização,* III, 366-383.

[15] For a separate study of Bishop Sardinha see an article by **Moreira** de Azevedo, "O primeiro bispo do Brazil. Memoria historica," in *Revista do Instituto geographico e historico da Bahia,* XI, 1905, 83-94. The bishop, a man of very fixed ideas and determined will, was sixty years old when he reached Brazil. Here he found even the clergy sharing in the milieu of colony life made up of a society of heedless elements, who had forgotten or given up many of the standards of European civilization, where law was in an embryonic state. His biographer concludes that the bishop transformed the head of the Church into a tribunal of accusation when calm and prudence rather than severity and rigor might have succeeded in bringing the populace to more normal life. *Ibid.,* 90-92.

[16] *Colonização,* III, 368-375, Letters of the bishop and the governor to the king.

In 1554 and 1555 the quarrel reached its peak. Then the governor, with bitterness, and the bishop, with eloquence, wrote to the king, each accusing his rival of all sorts of irregularities and delinquencies. These bills of complaint are detailed, confusing, and often seem petty. In their general aspect, however, they manifest a state of affairs likely to be disastrous to the welfare of the colony. The bishop complained that da Costa allowed lawlessness of every sort, particularly social offenses, to pass unnoticed and unpunished by civil law; the governor, in turn, accused the bishop of undue severity and excessive penalties in the ecclesiastical courts. And each of them accused the other of going beyond his legitimate jurisdiction.

Worst of all, the quarrel led to internal dissension among the subordinate officials of both the colonial authorities; some of the diocesan clergy sided with the governor and some of the civil authorities with the bishop. Thus when da Costa suspended Antonio Cardoso de Barros for neglecting his duties as *provedor môr,* Cardoso became an active partisan in the ecclesiastical faction.[18] On the other hand during the bishop's absence in Pernambuco, an unsuccessful conspiracy arose in his own household to prevent the prelate from returning; this resulted in the banishment of the ringleader, the cantor, to Ilhéus, and the dismissal of the dean, who was probably innocent.[19] On the whole, the partisans of the bishop seem to have outnumbered those of the governor, for da Costa had not surrounded himself with friends whom he could trust. Francisco Porto Carrero, *Capitão mór da costa,* accused the governor of not using the fleet either to visit the other captaincies or to defend the coast, and of otherwise carrying on the government inefficiently.[20]

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[17] Leite, *História,* II, 147.

[18] *Colonização,* III, 371-376, Letters of the governor to the king, April 3, April 8, and May 20, 1555. They have also been printed in *Revista trimensal do Instituto histórico e geographico Brasileiro,* XLIX, 560 ff. The originals are in the Torre do Tombo; each is stamped with the indication of the party to which the writer belonged.

[19] Calmon in his *História do Brasil,* I, 254-256, gives a summary of the details in so far as they can be obtained from the extant documents. Also see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias históricas e politicas,* 4 volumes, Bahia, 1919-1933.

Under these circumstances the influence of the second governor of Brazil was not much felt in the provinces outside of Bahia. Nóbrega, in the south, was aware that a quarrel had arisen between the governor's son and the bishop[21] but there was no ready means of communication between northern and southern Brazil because of the infrequency of boats. As for an expedition of inspection to the other captaincies, such as Sousa had undertaken twice during his administration, Governor da Costa could not leave Bahia in its anarchic state.

In 1555, the governor was reprimanded by the king and Dom Álvaro was ordered to leave the colony. The situation had become tense and Simão da Gama de Andrade tried to bring about peace. He was backed by the superior of the Jesuits in Bahia; together they affected a reconciliation.[22] This accomplished, the governor boarded a ship to go to Pernambuco where there was trouble brewing with the natives.[23] But his ship was delayed in the harbor for eight days because of storm, and during this time another crisis arose. The Indians of the surrounding territory, oppressed by the aggressions of the whites, were made bold by the dissension of the citizens and landholders of the Bahia area and they took advantage of the absence of the governor. With obvious premeditation, they made a sudden uprising. They began at a plantation at Pirajá, claiming that the land was theirs, then withdrew to Porto Grande to fortify themselves. Their next attack was against the herds of Garcia d'Avila, looting possessions of the whites, wounding slaves, and committing every harm possible.[24]

Under these circumstances the governor disembarked, called a council, and decided to punish the marauders. Here was Dom

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[20] *Colonização,* III, 377, Letter of Francisco Portocarrero to the king, April 20, 1555.

[21] Leite, *História,* I, 14. Nóbrega referred to this as *guerra civis.*

[22] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* II, 142-143, Letter of Ambrósio Pires from Bahia June 15, 1555.

[23] Calmon, *História do Brasil,* I, 256-257; F. A. Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil,* third edition, 5 volumes, São Paulo, 1927, I, 349-352. The governor gives a detailed account of the Indian war in his letter to the king dated June 10, 1555; *Colonização,* III, 377-379, and Varnhagen, I, 367-371.

[24] Garcia d'Avila, a youth without resources, who came with Sousa, was now one of the principal proprietors of the district. Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil,* I, 350.

Álvaro's first opportunity to display his talents. He led seventy foot soldiers and six horsemen in an attack on Indian villages, burning three of them. Christovão d'Oliveira, captain of the *Esperança,* the governor's vessel, took small boats and aided against the Indians. The campaign lasted about a week. On the fourth day Dom Álvaro with the aid of one hundred and sixty men gathered all the cattle and took them to the city; Oliveira continued his attack with two armed vessels. Finally with two hundred men, Dom Álvaro went to the rescue of Cardoso de Barros who with the people of six villages was besieged within the palisade around the mill. They also burned five Indian villages in this area, fought with a group of a thousand Indians, burned five more villages on the Rio Vermelho, and returned in triumph to Bahia. The expenses of the war were enormous.[25] Some of the Indians were taken captive; others fled to the *sertão.* The relationship between the two races was not eased by the war, which, though necessary, was unfortunate.[26] As for the governor's son, the air cleared after he showed his leadership in battle. Da Costa also added to the strength of the colonists by enrolling permanent volunteer forces to render assistance to any outlying mill that might be attacked.[27] The sad part of the whole affair was that the free and converted Indians with whom the Jesuits had worked so successfully, suffered greatly. Nóbrega returning to Bahia almost despaired of the mission situation.

The common danger had temporarily produced unity among the people of Bahia. In the meantime John III had received all of the complaining reports from both sides of the Bahia controversy. Since he was far from satisfied, he sent for the bishop, who left on June 15, 1556.[28] During Sardinha's absence the king appointed Francisco Fernandes to serve as vicar-general.[29] The bishop was accompanied by one hundred persons, many of whom wished to report conditions in Brazil. Seventy leagues up the coast, the ship, *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda,* ran aground and though the passengers reached land safely, all but two or three were slain and eaten by the Cahete Indians. "The Bishop exchanged the Bishop's mitre to the laurels of a martyr,"[30] and Mem de Sá, da Costa's successor, later exacted implacable reprisal for the atrocity from the Indians. Nóbrega's description of the untoward incident in a letter to Sousa briefly characterizes the bishop:

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[25] *Colonização,* III, 380, Letter of Jerónimo de Albuquerque, August 28, 1555.

[26] Exactly what happened in North America was happening in Brazil. As the Portuguese population grew, the Indians were pushed back to make room for more settlers, and for those who already held lands to increase their holdings. The settlers reconciled themselves, if they had any scruples, by saying that anthropophagy had been revived among the natives. Da Costa ordered the Indian chiefs to desist from their abominable practices or they would be expelled from their lands. The Jesuits, on the other hand, saw that the only way to control the Indians was to place them in segregated villages where they could be protected from the aggression of the whites and taught the Christian practices. Alexander Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery,* Baltimore, 1942, 103-106.

[27] Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil,* I, 351.

[28] Calmon, *História do Brasil,* I, 257.

[29] *Documentos históricos,* XXXV, 329, September 7, 1555; Calmon, *História do Brasil,* I, 257.

> Our Lord has taken the bishop, Dom Pedro Fernandes, who was virtuous in his way, as your Honor is aware, and very zealous for the reformation of the morals of the Christians, but who showed little concern for the heathens and their salvation, since he did not deem himself their bishop and they seemed to him incapable of all doctrine because of their brutality and bestiality, nor did he have them as sheep in his fold, nor did he consider that Christ, our Lord, would be honored in having them as such. Yet in this, help me, your Honor, to praise our Lord in His Providence, which permitted that the bishop fleeing the heathens and the land with little desire to die at their hands, was eaten by them, while to me, who have ever desired and petitioned our Lord for such an end and have put myself in the occasion of it more than he, it has been denied.[31]

As a result of this deed of cannibalism, colonization thereafter proceeded with the sword. The whole tribe of Cahetes was condemned to slavery. This penalty unfortunately gave the unscrupulous Portuguese landholders a pretext for enslaving any Indian. Even under da Costa the control over slavery had grown very lax, and now this edict completely let down any bars.[32] Because of the license which it gave, it was necessary to mitigate the sentence. All converted natives were to be exempt. The plantation owners, however, were too eager for slaves to be restrained by this discrimination so the whole edict had to be revoked, but not until the tribe had been almost extirpated.[33]

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[30] Sebastião da Rocha Pitta, *História da America Portugueza,* Lisbon, 1730, 151.

[31] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, 193. Jerome V. Jacobsen has given this translation in "Nóbrega of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (July 1942), 172-173.

[32] The Guinea slave labor was insufficient. Governor Sousa had realized that if he went on allowing the Portuguese to obtain slaves by raids, they would be faced with wars and destruction. If he stopped it altogether, the labor supply would be insufficient to run the mills. He therefore compromised. He allowed Indians who were hostile to be taken captive, but only then by the governor's army or by settlers acting with license. Captives in "licit wars" could be enslaved. Sousa was sufficiently strong to enforce this; da Costa feared losing even as much support as he had if he opposed his colonists, who encroached upon the Indians. See Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery,* on the whole question of slavery, 1500-1580.

What was the effect of this "tempest in a teapot," which had such a tragic ending, upon the activity of the Jesuits?[34] The Jesuit records show that Governor da Costa was at all times on friendly terms with them. But the quarrels between the governor and the bishop left little time for constructive efforts, and the work of the Jesuits among the Indians around Bahia was in eclipse. The Jesuits, in fact, had previously given up hope of accomplishing anything at Bahia for the time being because of the unfriendly attitude of Bishop Sardinha. Nóbrega, the Jesuit leader, had indeed been instrumental in the appointment of Sardinha as the first bishop of Brazil. He had appealed to his superior in Portugal to urge the appointment of a bishop primarily to correct abuses among the nondescript clerics established throughout the captaincies, and the evils resulting from this situation, and to ordain priests. The learned bishop's conflict with the Jesuits arose out of his lack of knowledge of local Indian problems, and his apparent inability to understand them. He objected to the Jesuit practice of using interpreters in hearing the confessions of the Indians; he did not see the need of teaching catechism at the Jesuit college; he declared that certain harmless native customs permitted by the Jesuits among their neophytes were heathen rites; he did not think that the Indians should be permitted to go about so scantily dressed. These were only a few of the issues he raised. As Leite concludes, "The Bahia of those days was not in need of erudite, casuistic, or theoretical arguments. It needed only good will, within a realism at the same time practical and aimed at the well being of souls."[35] His attitude toward the Indians is revealed in the statement of Nóbrega cited above. Under these conditions the Jesuit leader, rising above this debate, soon placed his hopes in the south, far from the political turmoil of the capital, and concentrated his missionary efforts in São Vicente and its hinterland.

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[33] Magalhães, writing a few years later, refers to this incident. When the Cahetes ate the bishop a decree was issued placing them in perpetual slavery but many already civilized were living peacefully in Jesuit villages near settlements of colonists. Upon representation by the Jesuits, the edict was nullified. At no time had the enslavement of Indians been given royal sanction, though it was tolerated. Pedro de Magalhães de Gandavo, *The Histories of Brazil,* translated by J. B. Stetson, 2 volumes, New York, 1922, II, 229.

[34] This whole matter is ably discussed in Leite, *História,* II, 146-150, 515-522.

[35] *Ibid.,* II, 521.

Thus, upon the arrival of da Costa, Nóbrega was in the southern captaincy. São Vicente was especially fruitful, for it had all the essential elements for progress, and Braz Cubas, then captain general of this province, was not only an able administrator but he gave the Jesuit missionaries encouragement. Immediately upon learning of the arrival of the little band of Jesuit recruits who had accompanied da Costa, Nóbrega sent for some of them. Among those who arrived at São Vicente the year following was José de Anchieta, later to become the famed apostle of São Vicente. The following year Nóbrega and his companions founded São Paulo; but the governor played no part in this, the only real achievement of his administration. There were sixteen Jesuits, with Nóbrega at the head, in São Vicente, three in Bahia, two in Porto Seguro, two in Espírito Santo. During the period two colleges, at São Paulo de Piratininga and at Bahia, were established; villages for Indians were increased in the vicinity of São Vicente and Bahia, although the Indian war made it difficult near Bahia. In the other provinces, conditions were far from easy. In Porto Seguro the *padres* did itinerant work chiefly, traveling up and down the coast and up the rivers to all of the settlements of the Tupiniquins. Pernambuco, one of the last to yield to the Jesuits, finally was to allow them to come into that province, and Duarte Coelho, the captain general, gave them support. Although conditions brought about during the da Costa administration were difficult for Nóbrega and his company of missionaries, the Jesuits were the strongest element upon which the next governor could depend.[36]

After the storm over Bahia had cleared away Nóbrega, partly in anticipation of better times and partly on administrative business, decided to return to the capital. He arrived there on July 30, 1556.[37] He was soon in consultation with Governor da Costa, laying plans for the establishment of the mission system which a decade later was to bloom forth in full splendor about Bahia under the able guidance of Father Grã, and with the complete cooperation of the new civil and ecclesiastical authorities, Bishop D. Pedro Leitão and Governor Mem de Sá.[38] Nóbrega's letter of July 5, 1559, describes these developments:

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[36] On the Jesuits in sixteenth-century Brazil, the following studies appeared in English in MID-AMERICA during 1942: Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," January, 1-26; *id.*, "Nóbrega of Brazil," July, 151-187; J. Manuel Espinosa, "Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil," January, 27-60; *id.*, "Luiz da Grã, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil," July, 188-216; *id.*, "Fernão Cardim, Jesuit Humanist of Colonial Brazil," October, 252-271. It is hoped that these articles together with those on the governors by the present writer and William B. Greenlee's article appearing in the April 1943 number, will one day appear in book form with others now in preparation.

[37] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, 202; Leite, *História,* II, 148.

> While I was in S. Vicente I learned of the victory of the Christians and the subjugation of the natives, and that the bishop had been ordered to leave, and believing that now we could work among the natives with some degree of success, I returned to this city, bringing with me some brothers familiar with the native language. And among other things which I requested of D. Duarte, the governor, for the work of conversion, there were two, namely: that some of the *aldeias* be merged into one settlement, so that fewer of us would be sufficient to instruct many, and stamp out the habit of eating human flesh, at least among those subjugated, and in the vicinity of the city. . . . This did not receive his support or approval, for his Majesty had ordered him to make peace with the natives and not disturb them; however, he granted us permission to set up two churches, which we built of straw, from which four *aldeias* near the city are visited, and he ordered them not to eat human flesh, but in such a way that even though they should eat it nothing was done about it, and so they continued to do so freely. . . .[39]

The troublous times which da Costa had weathered had apparently broken his spirit, for we know from another letter of Nóbrega, written the year previous, that he was in sympathy with Nóbrega's program. In referring to his presenting of the plan to Mem de Sá, Nóbrega writes: ". . . and D. Duarte and I advised him thus. . . ."[40]

Little is known of da Costa's administration after the Indian uprisings of 1555 and the departure of the bishop in 1556, beyond the few bits of information gleaned from the Jesuit letters. The newly appointed official, the *Alcaide-môr* of the city of Salvador, Diogo Muniz Barreto, took his oath of office on June 22, 1556,[41] and whether with his assistance conditions improved during the rest of da Costa's term is only a matter of conjecture. The sad ending of the bishop made a deep emotional impression on the colonists. Some went so far as to blame the governor. The *Camara* clamored for another governor and another *ouvidor geral* who might combat the evildoers.[42] Instead of appealing for recall, as Sousa had done, we have the unhappy situation of a governor whose people begged for his removal because they had been made so thoroughly unhappy by his blunders.

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[38] Cf. Espinosa, "Luiz da Grã," *loc. cit.,* 196-211.

[39] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, 202-203, Nóbrega to Thomé de Sousa, Bahia, July 5, 1559.

[40] Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas,* 79, 81, Letter of Nóbrega, Bahia, May 8, 1558.

[41] *Documentos históricos,* XXXV, 353-354.

[42] *Colonização,* III, 341, 367-369, 371-376.

Meanwhile, down the coast, the French were establishing a colony near present Rio de Janeiro, and although their foothold was so weak that it could have been destroyed with little effort, the Portuguese governor of Brazil was unable to undertake such an important task.[43] As an item in the affairs of da Costa's rule and as a prelude to a forthcoming account of Mem de Sá it seems well to discuss here with some brevity the attempts at colonization made by the French.

From the time of the discovery of America, French adventurers had been making coastwise voyages from Newfoundland to Brazil. Although these voyages were considered illegal, so far as Spain and Portugal were concerned, they were encouraged by France. Francis I had not been satisfied with the Line of Demarcation and gave the independent coast traders "benevolent if fitful protection."[44] By the middle of the sixteenth century the French had built up a thriving trade in the products of Brazil. Every year they came laden with knives, axes, mirrors, combs, scissors, and baubles to exchange for brazilwood, pepper, cotton, feathers, parrots, and any other native products saleable in European markets.[45] With the Tupinambas, a tribe hostile to the Portuguese, they developed a close friendship. While this meant that the Tupiniquins, friends of the Portuguese and enemies of the Tupinambas, might have opposed the activities of the French, there seems to have been no interference on the part of any of the Indians, and the French were able to gain whatever native alliances they needed for trade and for protection. The Portuguese settlers were so few in number and were so widespread over the long coast that the French met with no practical opposition and their trade prospered. The Indians looked forward to their regular visits and prepared the goods for exchange in advance. Sometimes agents were left among the Indians to collect pepper and other products and their presence tended to maintain good will. The few patrol boats which the Portuguese in Brazil occasionally sent out were easy prey to the French. The fort at Bertioga, the sole fortified point of the Rio de Janeiro region belonging to the Portuguese, was inadequate for effective moves against foreign intruders or for defense against hostile Indians. Pero de Góes, chief captain of the coast under Thomé de Sousa, was greatly exercised over the daring of the French and begged for financial support from home to provide effective means for Portuguese domination of the whole coast. Sousa could not build a fleet in Bahia, much less could he spare colonists to man an expedition to drive the French from Rio de Janeiro, although he was perfectly aware that they were becoming established traders along the coast and were gradually penetrating inland. In accordance with his instructions, he had first of all built the city of Bahia, and after that he was completely immersed in internal affairs and allowed the matter of foreign intruders to drift. Pero de Góes preceded Sousa to Portugal to report and petition the Court for aid against the French.[46] It would seem that one of da Costa's first duties would have been to strengthen the Portuguese occupation of this part of Brazil which was so open and attractive to foreign invasion. Sousa in a letter to the king had already urged Portuguese colonization of Rio de Janeiro, fortifying it and providing for royal officials there.[47] However, da Costa was not provided by the Crown with a proper fleet to protect the coast or with means of setting up a new colony. In fact, the matter was completely neglected, and the problem of preserving Brazil as a Portuguese colony was left to be solved by his successor. Francisco Portocarrero succeeded Pero de Góes as chief captain of the coast.[48] From his report of April 20, 1555, we know that the king did maintain a small fleet of two caravels and smaller vessels at Bahia. He felt that this force might be used against the French who were becoming so daring that they approached within twelve leagues of Bahia, and to the south they were robbing not only the land but Portuguese ships. They were also able to go inland fifteen or twenty leagues for brazilwood and were adding cane to their other products. Portocarrero complained that the governor refused to man the ships and they were used only, with a few on board, for short trips to Tynhaem, Peroasu, and Gyguarype for the purpost of "haggling for chicken, pigs," and other supplies. Da Costa ignored the French; he did not go to other parts of the colony as Sousa had in the days of Góes; he failed to use the fleet, inadequate though it was, even for defensive purposes. All of this gave rise to further complaints against da Costa.[49]

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[43] However, da Costa was not unaware of the need of occupying Rio de Janeiro; cf. Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas,* 64, Nóbrega to Father Torres, Bahia, September 2, 1557.

[44] A. W. Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France,* London, 1904, 313. Francis I's protest against the Line of Demarcation was "Je voudrois bien qu'on me montrât l'article du testament d'Adam qui partage le Nouveau-Monde entre mes frères, l'empereur Charles-Quint et le roi de Portugal, en m'excluant de la succession." *Ibid.,* 315.

[45] Hans Staden, *The True History of His Captivity,* translated by Malcolm Letts, London, 1928, 59, 61, 74, 117, 168. In 1553, Staden, stationed at the fortress Bertioga, in the service of the Portuguese, was taken captive by the Tupinambas. He remained in captivity until 1554. He attempted not to be identified with the Portuguese and made contacts with the French in order to gain his freedom.

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[46] *Colonização,* III, 364-366; Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil,* I, 323.

[47] *Colonização,* III, 361, 364-366, Letter of Sousa to the king, April 18, 1553.

[48] *Documentos históricos,* XXXV, Rio de Janeiro, 1927, 179-180, document dated April 18, 1553. From the time of Góes' return to Portugal until the arrival of Portocarrero, on the same ship with da Costa, there was no *capitão mór da costa.*

Just at this time France took her first critical step toward settlement. Verrazano, Cartier, and many other French explorers and traders had participated in and reported on the "new land" but "the supreme effort to found a New France in America was yet to be made, and by Coligny."[50] The first enterprise in this direction was undertaken by Nicholas Durand, seigneur of Villegagnon. He was a man of wide military and naval experience: he had been a soldier in Charles V's African campaign; he had fought against the Turks in Hungary; he had brought Mary Queen of Scots to France safely; he was made, in 1548, vice-admiral of Britanny.[51] Whitehead describes him as "vain, restless, visionary, unstable, intelligent, brave, in sentiment a monk, by profession a soldier," with "those qualities and vices which might wreck a delicate undertaking."[52] The vice-admiralty of Britanny proved to be an office of this sort.

Becoming involved in quarrels Villegagnon turned his attention to a project for the colonization of Brazil as a means of escape from his troubles. He had all of the daring but little of the common sense needed to qualify him for such an enterprise as the colonization of an uninhabited and unimproved land. France could not openly undertake the colonization of Portuguese territory for the two countries were friends. Nor could

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[49] *Colonização,* III, 369, Letter of Portocarrero to the king, April 20, 1555.

[50] Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny,* 313.

[51] Arthur Heulhard, *Villegagnon, roi d'Amérique un homme de mer au xvi^e siècle (1510-1572),* Paris, 1897; P. L. J. Gaffarel, *Histoire du Brésil français au xvi^e siècle,* Paris, 1878; Étienne Ignace Brasil, *La France au Brésil,* Rio de Janeiro, 1920; Calmon, *História do Brasil.* Heulhard and Brasil include an account of an investigatory voyage of Villegagnon, his landing at Cape Frio, being received by the Tamoios with great enthusiasm for they believed him to be the avenger against their oppressors of São Vicente. He signed alliances against the Portuguese, loaded his French ship with Brazilian products, and sailed to France to urge the establishment of a colony. Heulhard, 93-94.

[52] Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny,* 313-315.

France afford much diversion of her resources from her preparations against Spain on the continent. The colonization had to be on a small scale and could not receive much official notice at court. Villegagnon knew that Coligny had great influence with the king; he knew that Coligny was profoundly interested in aiding Protestants, especially the Huguenots. He therefore sought his aid, representing the establishment of a colony in Brazil as a refuge for French Protestants as his chief motive. Coligny thereupon approached Henry II, indirectly urging the creation of a base of action against a time when they might attack and conquer the Spanish colonies. In the meantime France might acquire some of the profits from America as Spain already had. Henry II was not generous. He gave 10,000 livres, two ships, soldiers, artillery, and materials for a fort. He promised Villegagnon the viceroyalty of the new colony if it were a success. Young and adventurous men were sought for the expedition, and to obtain colonists, the prisons were opened. Villegagnon was able to interest influential people for additional financial support which he spent lavishly. Three ships, two of 200 tons, one of 100 tons; 600 colonists, all men, sailed on July 12, 1555.[53] Violent storms damaged one of the ships so that the fleet had to put in at Dieppe for repairs and during the three weeks' delay, some of the passengers decided to remain in Europe. The company thus weakened reached the Bay of Guanabara on November 10, 1553, just a few months after the arrival of da Costa at Bahia.

Villegagnon was not a successful administrator; he established Fort Coligny on an island without proper water supply, while for provisions the colonists were mainly dependent on the Indians. If the Portuguese had attacked within the three and one-half years between the landing of the first Villegagnon colonists and the arrival of the second expedition in March 1557, they would have found the French colony at Rio de Janeiro not only weak, but in a state of dissolution. Villegagnon was unable to cope with the natural handicaps of the land nor did he have a strong hold on the administrative reins. The Calvinists did not find a refuge from persecution, for Villegagnon, not sympathetic to them, forgot the promises made to Coligny in France; many of the colonists were desperadoes and pursued their evil ways; some "went native" almost immediately; all were dependent upon the Indians for food. Even the Indians found Villegagnon a merciless master, and the colonists discovered that they had no reason to trust him.[54] An appeal was made to France and Coligny undertook to organize a relief party. Had it not been for this second expedition, which arrived in March of 1557, the colony would have, perforce, been abandoned. The new group was under Bois le Comte, nephew of Coligny, who was less able in every way than his uncle. There were 290 persons, among them six girls, and fourteen Genevans chosen by Calvin, since the settlement was to be Protestant. The best known was Jean de Léry, a shoemaker, who had studied theology and who was the historian of the voyage. Even with this reinforcement the course of the colony was tempestuous and the greatest dangers were neither from the hostilities of the Indians or from the Spanish and Portuguese.[55]

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[53] André Thevet, the Franciscan cosmographer, sailed with Villegagnon. His book, *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique . . .*, Paris, 1558, was published after his return to France. The account of Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil,* Lyon, 1575, is also a firsthand account of the French in Brazil in the Villegagnon colony. Both of these books have been published in several later editions and translated. For a discussion of these two authors, see Heulhard, *op. cit.,* chapter ix.

So far as the Portuguese were concerned, opposition held off until the coming of Mem de Sá, third governor of Brazil, who arrived at Bahia on December 27, 1557, to replace the unhappy, inept, and unimaginative da Costa, whose governorship can best be summarized as a somewhat sterile interlude.[56]

RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER

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[54] Heulhard, *Villegagnon,* 130-134.

[55] Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny,* 317-319.

[56] Although the appointment of da Costa was for three years, his administration lasted from July 13, 1553, until December of 1557, when Mem de Sá arrived.

Lieutenant Armstrong's Expedition to the Missouri River, 1790

Thomas Jefferson chose to ignore his own early attempts to direct the exploration of the Missouri River when he sent his message of January 18, 1803,[1] to Congress. He found no immodesty in calling attention to those earlier endeavors, however, when he wrote the biographical sketch of Captain Meriwether Lewis which appears in the *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* . . . Prepared . . . by Paul Allen, Philadelphia, 1814. There he recounted his assistance to John Ledyard of Connecticut, in an attempt to reach Virginia from Paris by way of Russia, Nootka Sound, California, and the Missouri River in 1786-1787,[2] and the desire of the American Philosophical Society (at his instigation) to send André Michaux, the botanist, west across the continent from Philadelphia in 1792-1793.[3]

Jefferson described those two attempts as the first essayed by or at the direction of Americans. In reality they were the first and third American attempts, for Jefferson missed the most important venture before the successful Lewis and Clark expedition, namely, the one ordered secretly by the United States and attempted by Lieutenant John Armstrong[4] in 1790. That Jefferson knew nothing of Armstrong's adventure is not surprising, for less than a dozen men at the time knew of it officially and not many since have traced the very few documents relating to the affair.

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[1] Asking for appropriations for the expedition to the Pacific Coast which was later carried out by Lewis and Clark.

[2] Ledyard was seized at the order of the empress in Irkutsk and escorted to the Polish border by the Russian police.

[3] Michaux was ordered (after he had made his way to Kentucky) to confine his tour to other parts of the American continent by the French Minister.

[4] John Armstrong was born in New Jersey in 1755. He was an officer in Pennsylvania regiments during the Revolutionary War and continued in the service of that state after the war. He was a woodsman and scout of exceptional ability and, under Josiah Harmar, commanded several of the forts along the Ohio River. He was with Harmar's expedition against the Miami Villages in 1790 and was present at St. Clair's defeat. He resigned his commission shortly after his marriage in 1793, but offered to serve in another campaign against the Indians. He settled first at Columbia, Ohio, and later moved to Armstrong's Station, on the Ohio River, in Indiana. From 1796 he served as treasurer of the Northwest Territory. He died in 1816.

Some of the records of this little-known expedition by Lieutenant Armstrong have been printed. From them it has been presumed that no actions toward the exploration of the Missouri River were taken and no results achieved, for the two most important documents in the series had not been identified. These documents are Lieutenant Armstrong's report to Brigadier General Harmar of the first government-ordered expedition beyond the Mississippi River and the first manuscript map of those lands secured by government order. They were found recently among the papers of General Harmar.[5]

Henry Knox, as secretary of war, inaugurated this first official attempt to explore the Missouri River when he wrote his secret letter of December 20, 1789, to General Harmar. His orders were to "Devise some practicable plan for exploring the branch of the Mississippi called the Messouri, up to its source and all its southern branches, and tracing particularly the distances between the said branches and any of the navigable streams that run into the Great North River which empties itself into the gulf of Mexico. . . ."[6] Before Harmar could have received the first secret letter, Knox dispatched another, adding to his orders that "the party employed on that business should be habited like indians in all respects and on no pretence whatever, discover any connection with the troops. . . ."[7]

Knox's first letter was received by Harmar before February 20, 1790, for on that day Harmar addressed his orders to Lieutenant Armstrong, who was then at Fort Washington with his commander, as follows:

Head Quarters, Fort Washington
February 20th 1790.

Sir

I have already made you acquainted with the business which you have to undertake, provided the Governor of the Western Territory should Judge it adviseable — If not, You are to return from the Illinois Country to Post Vincennes, & explore the Wabash river, & give me a particular report of its communication with Lake Erie, the depth of the Water, the distances &c— & if it can be done with safety, proceed to the Miami Village, in which case it will be necessary to have an

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[5] At the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[6] Original letter in the Harmar Papers, Vol. 11, 118; printed from L. C. Draper's transcript in *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* . . . Edited . . . by R. G. Thwaites, New York, 1905-1906; Vol. 7, 198-99. (Hereafter referred to as Thwaites.)

[7] The Harmar Papers, Vol. 12, 8; Thwaites, Vol. 7, 199.

Escort of Friendly Indians to accompany you. — you will endeavor to return to Head Quarters by Land, after this business is effected. —

I wish you a Safe Tour, & am with great Esteem & regard
your hum. Servt
Jos. Harmar . . .[8]

On the same day, Harmar wrote to Governor Arthur St. Clair concerning the projected expedition. Armstrong carried this letter with him when he set out to reach the "Governor of the Western Territory" at Kaskaskias.

> I have no great opinion of Major Doughty's Mission, & another is on foot, which I think to be really difficult & hazardous — The Copy of the Secret Letter sent me from the War Office I do not think proper to commit to paper, for fear of accident, but Lieut. Armstrong (whom I have ordered to undertake the Tour if practicable) can fully inform you the Nature of the business, as the contents of the Letter have been communicated to him, & he has taken notes in such a manner as to be able to give you an exact Copy of it — I have written to the War office that I wished very much to have your Excellency's opinion upon this Subject, before I ordered the Officer to proceed; I must therefore beg, that you will be pleased to give it — It seems very much upon the too adventrous establishment. — If your Excellency should be of opinion, that it is advisable for him to undertake it, be so Kind as to afford him your advice, & assistance upon the Occasion, as it is impossible for me at this distance to make the necessary Arrangements for that purpose. — This is the Subject which the Secretary at War has written to you that we were to consult about. . . .[9]

As indicated in the preceding letter, Harmar had written to Knox earlier in the day. He was not sanguine about the success of such an enterprise.

> I shall shortly do myself the honor of writing to you again, as I am making preparations to endeavor to carry into effect what was communicated to me in your Secret letter of the 20th. December. — It will be a very difficult dangerous undertaking — I wish to have the Governor's opinion upon it, as he must now be at Kaskaskias; however if there is a practicability, it shall be attempted. — . . .[10]

On the fifth of March, Harmar received the second of Knox's two secret letters and three days later wrote to Armstrong the following supplementary orders:

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[8] The Harmar Papers, Letter Book G, 42.

[9] *Ibid.*, 42-43; printed from the copy received by St. Clair in *The St. Clair Papers* . . . Arranged and annotated by William H. Smith, Cincinnati, 1882, Vol. 2, 133; repeated in Thwaites, Vol. 7, 200. The spelling, capitalization, and punctuation in this and the following letters follows the manuscript and published forms.

[10] The Harmar Papers, Letter Book G, 48.

Head Quarters, Fort Washington —
March 8th 1790 —

Sir

Since the communication I made to you, another Letter has been received from the War Office dated the 16th. January last, & received the 5th. Inst. which mentions, "That the party employed on that business, should be habited like Indians in all respects, and on *no pretence whatever,* discover any Connection with the troops; of Course they will not take any written orders with them" —

Acknowledge the receipt of this Letter, and govern yourself accordingly; you may then burn it — Persevere in the undertaking, if the Governor should judge it adviseable, as you find by this last Letter, that it is expected the business must Commence, & be pursued.

I am
Sir
with esteem
your hum Servt
Jos. Harmar . . .[11]

Harmar recognized that Knox's orders on this matter were not to be taken lightly and he kept the Secretary of War informed as to Armstrong's progress whenever he himself received news. On the 24th of March, he wrote that he had "detached Lieut. Armstrong to undertake the business recommended in your Secret Letters. . . ."[12] And on the fifth of April he added the tidbit that "Lieut. Armstrong left the Rapids of the Ohio on the 27th February, to undertake the business ordered in your former Letters. . . ."[13]

Armstrong reached Fort Kaskaskias on March 28 and delivered his dispatches, including the letter of Harmar, to Governor St. Clair. The governor took his time about giving an opinion, for one of the numerous crises faced by the garrison at Kaskaskias arose about this time. Armstrong was put to work immediately upon his arrival trying to remedy a serious lack of supplies, and it was not until the first of May that St. Clair found time to give Armstrong his opinion. St. Clair wrote the first of his two letters regarding the expedition to Knox on May 1.

Mr. Armstrong has been here for some time, in consequence of your communications to General Harmar, who made me acquainted with them by him. It is, sir, I believe, at present, altogether impracticable. It is a point on which some people are feelingly alive all over, and all their jealousy awake. Indians to be confided in, there are none: and if there were, those who would be most proper, and others, are now at war; but I have explained myself to Captain Armstrong for General Harmar's information, who will communicate it to you from a place whence there is less risk of dispatches miscarrying. . . .[14]

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[11] *Ibid.,* 66-67.

[12] *Ibid.,* 69; printed in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* Philadelphia, 1860, Vol. 7, 454.

[13] The Harmar Papers, Letter Book G, 73.

The following day (May 2), St. Clair wrote a similar opinion for Harmar.

I had the honor to receive your Letter by Capt. Armstrong, who also made some other Communications. — I have given him my Opinion, that the Business, for the present at least, is impracticable, for the Reasons which he will inform you of. — I do not think it best to say anything about it in writing, but I have given the same information to the Secretary at War, and referred him to you for the particular explanation. . . .[15]

Here the whole affair should have ended, but Armstrong went farther than Kaskaskias, although he did not, as his son claimed later (1844 and 1845), proceed "up the Missouri some distance above St. Louis." His report was written from Fort Washington, dated June 2, 1790, and reads as follows:

Fort Washington 2.d June 1790

Sir /

Agreeable to your Orders of the 20.th February I proceeded to Kaskaskias by way of the Rapids of Ohio Post vincennes & the Missisippi and reached Kaskaskias on the 28.th of March — Having communicated to the Governer of the Western Territory the business on which I was detached after exercising his mind on the occasion he observed it was not only a dificult task, but one that in his opinion could be executed in the character of a trader only, and even in that there is a dificulty, as there are by Government fixed Posts for Traders to assemble at and a certain quaintity of goods permited to go to each Post The Spanish commendent knows the quaintity of Firs that country produces yearly, and the quaintity of Goods necessary for the Natives — As to Indians well attached to the United States I know not where they are to be found, but by making generous presents to some of those nations on the Missouri I have no doubt but in a Tour of eighteen Months or two years the necessary information might be obtained, promised rewards will not secure an indian to your interest — I presume the Governer has wrote you fully on this subject. it is a business much easier planed than executed, and should I again be called on to go on this Service I should chuse to be equiped for the Tour. the adventurer ought to be furnished with a convenience made of Oil cloth for the purpose of securing his papers when traveling by Land, a half faced Camp or Tent of the same would also be necessary and is very portable — If it is a matter of consequence to the United States I am of opinion there would be less dificulty in the execution at present than at an afterday — I have procured an invoice of the goods necessary for the Trade of that country, and conceive a connexion with some of the Traders might take place, and this business executed with very little expence to the Public — After visiting St Genavive & St Louis on the 2.d May I took my departure for post vincennes from whence I set out on the Morning of the 13.th May in company with two Indians and after proceeding * two days on the course for this place one of my companions falling sick & the other being Lame they would proceed no ferther on that route, I then with much dificulty prevailed on them to take a course for the Rapids of Ohio assuring them I knew the way & that in four Suns we would reach that place where I arrived on the 25.th I found my companions attentive trusty fellows —

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[14] *The St. Clair Papers,* Vol. 2, 138; Thwaites, Vol. 7, 200.

[15] The Harmar Papers, Vol. 12, 101; a different version, apparently from St. Clair's retained copy, appears in *The St. Clair Papers,* Vol. 2, 144, where it is undated; repeated in Thwaites, Vol. 7, 201 (undated).

While at S Louis I obtained some information respecting the country I was to have explored which is contained in the inclosed Notes — I also inclose you a Map of the Missouri which I copied at St Louis as also one of the Illanois River & its connexion with Lake Michagon explained by remarks made by the drawer of the Original I am Sir with respect your ob.t Servt

* I found from the hostile disposition of the Indians on the Wabash that it was unsafe to attempt exploring that & the Moami Rivers &c.

[Docket on verso:] Lieu.t Armstrong's Report[16]

Among the Harmar Papers there are a few more documents which round out the story. Armstrong's expense account for the expedition is rather amusing, reading as follows:

Fort Washington 2d June 1790

D.r

The United States to Lieut. John Armstrong

To expenses for himself & Servant while on public Service from the 20 of February until the present date being one hundred and three days, Amounting to Seventy Dollars and thirty nine ninetieths of a Dollar

$70 \frac{39}{90}$

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[16] The Harmar Papers, Vol. 12, 122a.

To a Horse purchased for Public Service and delivered to Major Hamtramck forty dollars

40 Dollars

Amounting in the whole to one hundred and ten dollars and thirty nine ninetieths of a Dollar Received the above Sum from General Harmar and gave duplicate Receipt for the same
June 5th 1790

John Armstrong . . .[17]

Harmar announced Armstrong's arrival at Fort Washington to Knox on June ninth as follows:

> Lieutenant Armstrong, whom I detached sometime since, to endeavor to carry into effect your Secret orders, returned to this post on the 2nd. Inst — After proceeding with the Governor from Kaskaskias to Cahokia, and informing him the business he was sent upon, the Governor was of opinion that it was neither prudent nor practicable to undertake it. — He has made several observations to me upon the Country, which he obtained from persons who had explored it for some distance, those notes & maps when arranged, I shall do myself the honor to transmit to you, together with an account of his expences. —[18]

Knox's reply to Harmar's letter of the ninth of June contained the remark "I observe your information respecting the return of Lieutenant Armstrong and am satisfied therewith. . . ."[19] The final draft of the report with its attendant documents was ready by August 3, for on that date Harmar announced to Knox that "Lieut. Armstrong's report with observations that he made whilst on the Mississippi, Maps, &c &c — I also enclose by this opportunity."[20] To which Knox replied on September 14, touching on Armstrong's excursion for the last time, "Lieut. Armstrong's . . . reports shall be submitted to the President of the United States."[21]

The draft of Armstrong's report retained by Harmar is accompanied by the original of the map which Armstrong secured in St. Louis. It shows the Mississippi River and land east of that river to the center of Michigan and west of the Mississippi beyond the Rocky Mountains. Armstrong traced his map in pencil

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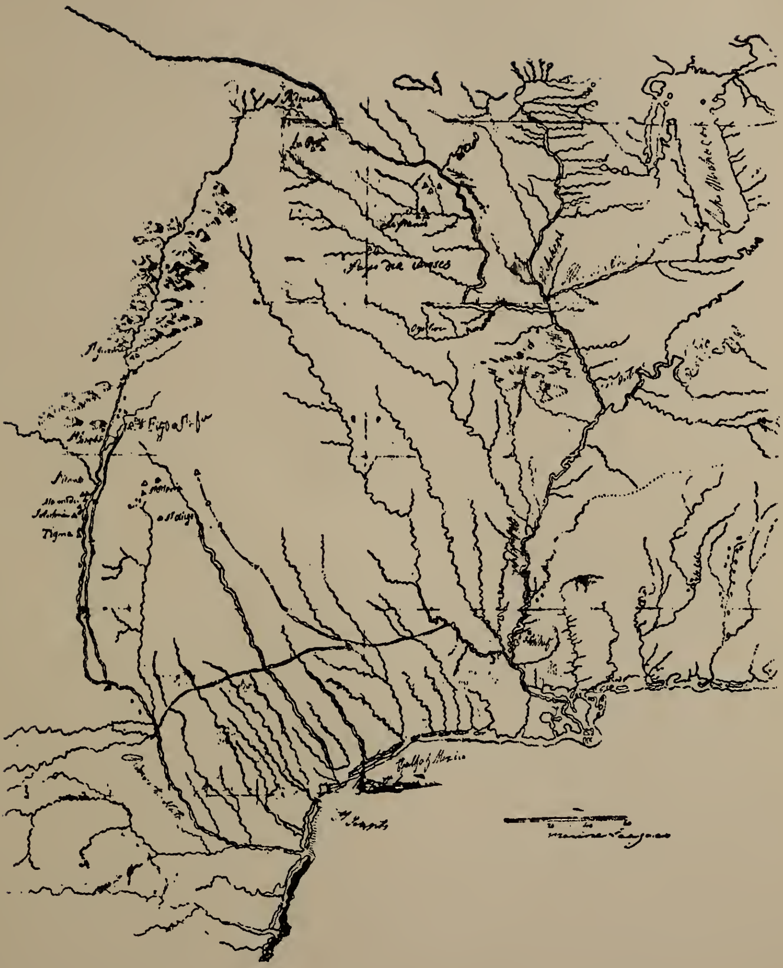
[17] *Ibid.,* Vol. 12, 123.
[18] *Ibid.,* Letter Book A, 5.
[19] *Ibid.,* Vol. 13, 35.
[20] *Ibid.,* Letter Book A, 10.
[21] *Ibid.,* Vol. 13, 93.



Lieutenant John Armstrong's Map of the Lands West of the Mississippi River, Secured by Him at St. Louis in May 1790

From the Harmar Papers at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan from the western half of Jacques Nicholas Bellin's "Carte de la Louisiane et des Pays Voisins. . . ." [Paris] 1750. The Bellin map—famous in its day—was based principally on the travels of La Salle, according to the cartographer,[22] with corrected observations by Le Sueur and de Léry. The tracing sent to Knox was probably a redrawing of this original tracing. It is the first map of the country west of the Mississippi secured by a government-ordered expedition. Also found in the Harmar Papers are a two-page manuscript description of the Illinois River from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River and a manuscript map of the Illinois River. Both the description and the map appear to have been copied by Armstrong from the notes and map of the explorer who made the trip.

The first official attempt to explore the lands beyond the Mississippi River had failed. Armstrong seems to have been confident that he could complete the task as laid out by the Secretary of War, if he were given enough time and the proper equipment. His older, more cautious superiors prevented him from trying. Harmar, St. Clair, and Armstrong certainly lived to know of the success of the great expedition under Lewis and Clark. Knox, too, may have known of it, for the successful expedition ended at St. Louis just a month before his death on October 25, 1806.

COLTON STORM

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[22] For statements of Bellin's regarding this map cf. his *Remarques sur la Carte de l'Amérique septentrionale,* Paris, 1755. There is a deal of difference between what Bellin claimed as his sources and what they were. Bellin drew the map originally about 1742. This is in Charlevoix's *History of New France* (French Edition, Vol. II, Shea's translation, Vol. VI), on smaller scale. It is a modification of Delisle's map of 1722, which in turn is a simplification of that of 1718, in turn an amplification of Delisle's map of 1703. The 1718 map has been frequently reproduced. The Bellin map of 1750 from which Armstrong made his tracing was on somewhat larger scale than that used for his earlier drawing.

El Rio Del Espiritu Santo

The following pages were originally intended as part of a book now ready for publication on Louis Jolliet's voyages of discovery and exploration. The most important of these voyages is that of 1673, when accompanied by Father Marquette and five French-Canadians he descended the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien to near the mouth of the Arkansas River, and returned to Sault Ste. Marie via the Illinois and the Des Plaines rivers, through Chicago and up the west shore of Lake Michigan. The importance of this voyage and the advance in knowledge of the geography of the United States which it effected are better appreciated, if one ascertains what was previously known in Europe and in America of the country traversed by the expedition and of the river which they followed.

This can be done best by studying the maps of the region which were in existence in the sixties of the seventeenth century. The printed accounts of the early voyages along the Gulf Coast and into the interior are few and unsatisfactory. Even the more detailed accounts of the expedition of De Soto give us little that is definite with regard to the geography of the southern United States. The mapmakers of the time, however, had access to information derived from narratives which are lost today.

Unfortunately, such information was not always made use of in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; maps of the New World, and especially maps of the interior, were seldom made from accounts of discovery and exploration. The majority of mapmakers were satisfied with reproducing the work of their predecessors. True geographers were few and far between, and many who are today accepted as cartographers were simply draughtsmen, engravers, or map publishers, whose main concern was to issue "new" maps. The only change often consisted in scratching the date of publication off the plate and replacing it by a more recent date, notwithstanding the emblazoned assertion that the map embodied the latest information derived from memoirs of travelers recently returned from the faraway countries represented on the map. Sometimes the map publisher did not even bother to alter the plate. He merely erased the last two digits on the unsold maps in stock, inserted the more recent date with pen and ink, and advertised the map as a new edition. This was not all. Map publishers indiscriminately compiled atlases of dated and undated maps by various authors, with the result that today we find these maps listed under the date of publication of the atlas, which in some cases varies as much as fifty years from the true date of an individual map. It is therefore very difficult, unless one has independent knowledge of the maps in these atlases, to study the cartographical development of a particular area of the New World, such as the Mississippi Valley and the adjacent states with which we are here concerned. Another convenient way of making a new map, quite different from those already on the market, and hence likely to interest the publisher's clients, was as follows. The cartographer or the draughtsman would insert, more or less indiscriminately, various place-names, rivers, and other geographical features to be found on whatever previously printed or manuscript maps he happened to have at hand. The cartographical freaks produced by this desire for completeness and novelty can easily be imagined.

In this series of articles, relying on the numerous maps of the interior of the United States between the Appalachian Range and the Rocky Mountains, we shall inquire what knowledge the best informed geographers of the period seem to have had of the Mississippi, and in particular, whether the river which is labeled "Rio del Espíritu Santo" on these maps is the Mississippi itself. Most writers who have treated the question have either answered the question affirmatively or have taken an affirmative answer for granted without any investigation. Half a century ago, however, on the occasion of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America, the question whether the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers was the Mississippi was answered negatively by Scaife.[1] Although we shall agree with some of his arguments, his general conclusion cannot be accepted, for he held that the name Rio del Espíritu Santo "applied generally if not exclusively, to the stream which now bears in its different parts, the names of Coosa, Alabama, and Mobile."[2] The main argument that led Scaife to this conclusion is that on all the earliest maps, the Rio del Espíritu Santo empties directly not into the Gulf, but into a large bay which he identified as Mobile Bay.

We may begin by noting three facts about the Mississippi itself which are beyond dispute. First, within thirty years after the discovery of America, some Spaniards undoubtedly sailed by its mouth without realizing what they were passing. Secondly, in 1541 De Soto saw and crossed the Mississippi somewhere between the Arkansas and the St. Francis rivers, and two years later the remnants of his expedition led by Moscoso descended it to the sea. Finally, long before the era of exploration, the muddy waters of the Mississippi emptied directly into the Gulf just as they do today, without passing through any such bay as appears on early maps at the mouth of the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

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[1] W. B. Scaife, *America, Its Geographical History, 1492-1892. . . . With a supplement entitled: Was the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish Geographers the Mississippi?* Baltimore, 1892, 139-176.

[2] *Ibid.,* 139.

I

Before we begin to study the maps themselves, another general observation should be made. On the earlier maps the name Bahía del Espíritu Santo is given to a bay at the northwestern end of the Gulf, whereas at a later date another Bahía del Espíritu Santo appears on the west coast of the Florida peninsula; and a Rio del Espíritu Santo is represented as emptying into each of these bays. To settle which of the two rivers is the Mississippi presents no difficulty, for all those who identify the Mississippi with the Rio del Espíritu Santo hold that it is the western one; however, a study of the changes in the nomenclature of both rivers and bays on these maps is worth making, apart from this question, because it throws considerable light on the cartography of the Gulf Coast.

As will be seen, the legend "Rio del Espíritu Santo" first appears in the northwestern corner of the Gulf, on the so-called Pineda map of 1520 or thereabouts.[1] The first printed map on which this river is shown is that accompanying Cortes' second letter to Charles V. The bay into which it empties is unnamed, but afterwards, on the Salviati map of 1525-1527, it is called "Mar pequeña," small sea, because of its size. This legend is repeated on the Weimar map, the two maps of Ribero, and the Wolfenbüttel map. On the latter there is another name not found on the Weimar but repeated on nearly all the subsequent maps: "ostial." From Oviedo we learn that on the lost Chaves map of 1536, there was a descriptive legend not inscribed by previous mapmakers:

> Twenty leagues farther is the Cabo de la Cruz, near the mouth (en el

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[1] In this section bibliographical references are given to those maps which will not be mentioned later.

embocamiento) of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, at latitude thirty-nine [*i. e.,* 29] degrees and two thirds of a degree on this side, [scl. north] of the equator. . . . From the bay and headland (cabo) of the Puerto del Espíritu Santo to the Rio de Flores, there are seventy leagues, [along the coast] running from east to west, and within the said bay is the Rio del Espíritu Santo; that bay [ensenada] is called Mar pequeña on the map. In the bay itself, from the Rio del Espíritu Santo to the *Culata* or end of the said bay or mar pequeña, east to west, there are twenty leagues, and the width is ten or twelve. Now then, from the mouth of this bay to the Rio de Flores towards the east, they count sixty leagues. . . .[2]

We do not know whether Chaves had the legend "Bahía del Puerto del Espíritu Santo" on his map, or whether these words are merely part of Oviedo's explanation; but six years later, on the world map of Alonso de Santa Cruz, the legend "Culata" is inscribed at the east end of the Mar pequeña, and the author of the so-called De Soto map, believed by some to have been Santa Cruz, also wrote inside the Mar pequeña "baya del espiritu Santo." This latter map is clearly posterior to the expedition of 1539-1543.

In the late fifties of the sixteenth century, one of the Agnese manuscript maps combined the two names thus: "B. del Spirito S^{to} delle Colata."[3] The Italian artist is here expressing cartographically a passage of Gómara's book on the conquest of Mexico, published at Saragossa in 1552, which reads as follows: "From the Rio de Flores there are seventy leagues to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, which also goes by the name of *la Culata,* and which measures thirty leagues. From this bay which lies at latitude 29° there are more than seventy leagues to the Rio de Pescadores."[4] Evidently Gómara mistakenly thought that the name used by the Spanish geographers to designate the end of the Mar pequeña was the name of the bay itself. There is no mention of the Rio del Espíritu Santo. Though this name appears in the Latin translation of Gómara's book, it is clearly a mistranslation of the original Spanish.[5] Both Mercator and Ortelius repeated Gómara's mistake, but the name "Rio del Espíritu Santo" is found on their maps.

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[2] G. F. de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-firme del Mar Océano,* 4 volumes, Madrid, 1851-1855, II, 143.

[3] Reproduced in colors in K. Kretschmer, *Die Entdeckung Amerika's in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Weltbildes,* Berlin, 1892, *Atlas,* Taf. XXV; black and white reproduction in G. P. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," published by the U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, in the Fourteenth *Annual Report,* 1892-1893, Washington, D. C., 1896, pt. 1, between pp. 360-361.

[4] "Del Rio de Flores ay setenta leguas a la Baia del Espiritu Santo, a quien llaman por otro nombre, la Culata, que boja treynta leguas. Desta baia, que esta en veyntinueue grados, ay mas de setenta leguas al rio de Pescadores," Francisco López de Gómara, *Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias,* . . . Saragossa, 1553^2, Fol. viii.

Thus we see that thirty years after the appearance of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, the bay at its mouth, which was originally nameless had at first been called "Mar pequeña," then Bahía del Espíritu Santo, and finally appeared under both names.

On the west coast of the Floridan peninsula, the process is just the reverse. There we find first a Bahía del Espíritu Santo, without the corresponding river, and only later does a *rio* of that name appear.

It is well known that the bay in Florida where De Soto disembarked was called Bahía del Espíritu Santo because of the day on which land was sighted, Pentecost Sunday, May 25, 1539.[6] In 1554, a Portuguese mapmaker, Lopo Homem, drew at Lisbon a map of the world showing a "b. del espirito Sto" on the west coast of Florida.[7] As far as I know, this is the oldest extant map bearing this legend at this point. There is conclusive evidence to show, however, that Homem followed a Spanish model. Instead of repeating Bahía del Espíritu Santo in the northwest corner of the Gulf Coast, he there employs the legends "R. del Espiritu Santo," "mar pequeno," and "culata." We know from copies of maps made on the Sevillan padrón, which found their way to France before the middle of the sixteenth century, that these maps were known in Portugal at a still earlier date. Even a superficial examination of the French copies shows that they were directly made not from Spanish models but from Portuguese versions thereof. The close affinity between Spanish and Portuguese rendered translation unnecessary, but the original gender of the Spanish adjectives is altered to make them agree with the Portuguese gender of the nouns, whenever these nouns have a different gender in the two languages. Thus, for instance, we find "mar pequeno" for *mar pequeña.* There are other linguistic changes: "praia" takes the place of *plaia,* "pracel" of *placel;* some draughtsmen consistently used "do," the contracted masculine Portuguese article where the Spanish has "del," but this was not so generally done as would appear from the practice of Homem. All of them, as a rule, wrote "lh" and "nh" for *ll* and *ñ*; and most followed the sixteenth-century Portuguese practice of spelling with an *m* words which were then written with an *n* in Spanish as they now are in modern Portuguese, v. g., *escomdido, homdo, samto,* etc. Finally we find the two liquids *l* and *r* transposed in such words as "froles" for *flores,* "Frolida" for *Florida.*

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[5] "A flumine Florum ad sinum S. Spiritus. 70. miliaria numerãtur, quod Flumen alio nomine Culata dicitur, & 30 miliar. se extendit. Ab hoc sinu, qui est sub latitudine 29. graduun, ad fluuium Piscatorum usq; habentur vltra 70. miliaria;" *Cosmographia, siue Descriptio universi Orbis, Petri Apiani & Gemmae Frisij* . . ., Antwerp, 1584, 161. Cf. the sketch of Claude Delisle in Archives Nationales (AN), JJ, 75-137, and the note thereon by Joseph-Nicolas Delisle.

[6] *Relaçam verdadeira . . . feita per hũ fidalgo Deluas,* Evora, 1557, facsimile reproduction by J. A. Robertson, 2 volumes, Deland, 1933, I, xix; Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Ynca. Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto,* . . . Lisbon, 1605, 28v.

[7] [World map.] "Lopo Home[m] cosmografo caualeiro fidalgo del rei nosso Snor me fez e[m] lixboa Era de 1554 Annos," reproduced in G. Caraci, *Tabulae Geographicae Vetustiores in Italia Adservatae,* 3 volumes, Florence, 1926-1932, I, Pl. I-IX, the Gulf of Mexico is Pl. II. On this cartographer, cf. A. Corteasão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI,* 2 volumes, Lisbon, 1935, II, 7-28. This map of 1554 is thought by some to have been based on the lost Chaves map of 1536.

Since a Bahía del Espíritu Santo located on the west coast of Florida appears on a Portuguese map as early as 1554, and since it is clear that Portuguese mapmakers used—at least for this section of America—Spanish maps as models we may conclude that Spanish mapmakers had inscribed a Bahía del Espíritu Santo on the west coast of Florida before the middle of the sixteenth century. Moreover, there is definite evidence that a decade later Spanish mapmakers began to inscribe two bahías del Espíritu Santo on their maps: one on the northwest corner of the Gulf and another at or near De Soto's landing place on the west coast of Florida. Thus Francisco López de Velasco in his description of the "Gulf of New Spain . . . according to the maps of Santa Cruz," wrote: "The direction of the northern coast of this gulf runs for 250 leagues west from Florida, it then forms a southwestward arc to Pánuco, more than one hundred leagues long . . .";[8] and before describing the "Rio and Bahía del Espíritu Santo" on the north coast of the Gulf, he speaks of the west shore line of the Floridan peninsula as follows:

> *Bahía del Espíritu Santo,* the limit of the province (gobernación) of Florida, at latitude 29°, twenty or thirty leagues west of the Bahía Tocobaga. *La bahía de Tocobaga* also called [Bahía] del Espíritu Santo or de Miruelo, is at latitude 29°30′. . . . From Tocobaga to Tampa there are thirty leagues, the coast runs south-by-east. . . . At the entrance of the Bahía de Tampa which may be the Bahía Honda is a sand bank which is shown on old maps. The bay is large, with an opening which measures about three leagues, full of shoals covered by water.

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[8] J. López de Velasco, *Geographia y Descripción Universal de las Indias,* Madrid, 180.

> . . . From the above mentioned [Tampa] bay, there are twelve leagues to Carlos. . . . The Bahía de Carlos is called by the Indians Escampaba, after a cacique of this name . . . and seems to be the same which is called Juan Ponce, because he landed there in 1515 . . . it is situated at latitude 26°30′. . . .[9]

The date of "the maps of Santa Cruz" spoken of by López de Velasco can only be approximately ascertained. When, in 1572, he was appointed cosmographo mayor, he received from the government the maps, manuscripts, and papers of Santa Cruz, his predecessor in that office, who had died in 1567.[10] The latest map of Santa Cruz, which can be dated on other evidence, that of the Gulf of Mexico in the *Islario,* was made after 1560; on it are found the names "Bahía Honda" and "Bahía de Juan Ponce" on the west coast of Florida. The fact that López de Velasco found them replaced by the names "Bahía de Tampa" and "Bahía de Carlos" shows that the Santa Cruz maps to which he refers were made between 1560 and 1567.

The Florida Bahía del Espíritu Santo is found on a map of Diogo Homem of 1568,[11] and on one of Oliva of 1580.[12] It appears for the first time in print on the Hierónymo de Chaves map published by Ortelius in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,* 1584, and the legend is repeated on copies of this map by Wytfliet, 1597, by Matal, 1602,[13] by Hondius on his world map of 1611,[14] and a few others. For some reason this Bahía del Espíritu Santo on the Florida coast did not obtain general recognition at the time; it is not found on many maps of the latter part of the sixteenth century, and only reappears at the very end of the seventeenth century. The name which is found, although it had a late start, is R. or Rio del Espíritu Santo.

This latter name is first met with on an anonymous map of the Gulf, which is undated but was made after 1561.[15] It may be that the "R" on this map, which stands for Rio, is a mistake of the draughtsman for the initial letter of Bahía. The next time the legend appears on the west coast of Florida is on Blaeu's world map of 1605.[16] From this date on, it is found with increasing frequency on printed maps of the first seventy-five years of the seventeenth century. Blaeu himself repeated it on all the maps which he himself or his son published, and since the French mapmakers following Nicolas Sanson's lead used Dutch maps as a basis for theirs, the Rio del Espíritu Santo on the west coast of Florida is found on French maps too. The following observations should be made, however. Sometimes the course of the river is shown, but no name is given to it; sometimes the name is given to what purports to be the mouth of the river, but the course is not shown; finally, on some maps, both name and course are shown.

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[9] *Id., ibid.,* 162-164.

[10] B. Boston, "The 'De Soto Map,'" MID-AMERICA, XXIII (July 1941), 242-243.

[11] Facsimile reproduction in V. Hantzsch and L. Schmidt, *Kartographische Denkmäler zur Entdeckungsgeschichte von Amerika, Asien, Australien und Afrika,* Leipzig, 1903, Taf. V.

[12] Photograph in the Karpinski Collection from the Bibliotheca Real, Madrid, 2-K-8.

[13] "Florida et Apalche," in J. Matal, *Speculum Orbis terrae . . .,* Cologne, 1600-1602; cf. Woodbury Lowery, *Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions,* Washington, D. C., 1912, 105.

[14] "Novissima ac Exactissima totius orbis terratrum Descriptio . . . Auct. J. Hondio," facsimile reproduction, edited by E. L. Stevenson and J. Fischer, New York, 1907.

[15] [Carta de las Antillas, Seno Mejicano y Costas de Tierra Firme y de la América Setentrional] in *Cartas de Indias,* Madrid, 1877.

On the so-called De Soto map there is, as noted above, a Bahía del Espíritu Santo in the northwest corner of the Gulf, and Gómara in his description of the Gulf also speaks of a Bahía del Espíritu Santo there. During the next seventy years, although the bay is always shown, the legend does not appear on any drawn or printed map, until the publication of the *Nieuwe Wereldt oft Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* by De Laet in 1625. The reason for this omission is that the mapmakers of this period were merely reproducing manuscript or printed maps on which the bay was left unnamed, whereas De Laet had his maps drawn according to written accounts which he summarized, and it is clear that to draw the Gulf Coast a modified Gómara text was used by the draughtsman.

On the maps published by the Blaeu firm during the first half of the seventeenth century, although all have two rios del Espíritu Santo, one on the west coast of Florida and the other on the northwest end of the Gulf, yet on only one map,[17] published by John Blaeu, is the bay into which the latter discharges itself labeled *Baya de Sp. Santo,* and even this map is one of those which had been previously published in Hondius' *Theâtre du Monde* of 1639.

On Nicolas Sanson's 1650 map of North America, the nomenclature of the Gulf Coast from the Florida Keyes to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo is lifted bodily from De Laet's map entitled *Florida et Regiones Vicinae;* on this map, and therefore also on Sanson's, a "R. de Spiritu Santo" disembogues into a bay on the west coast of Florida, but no name is given to any of the six rivers emptying into the *B. de Spiritu S*^to^ in the northwest corner of the Gulf. Six years later Sanson issued another map, the characteristic trait of which consists in his having superimposed the hydrography and the nomenclature of the western part of the Chaves map published by Ortelius in 1584, on the hydrography and the nomenclature of the De Laet map of 1625. His 1656 map therefore contains a Rio del Espíritu Santo emptying into a Bahía del Espíritu Santo in the northwest corner of the Gulf, and another Rio del Espíritu Santo the mouth of which is on the west coast of Florida.

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[16] "Nova Universi Terrarum Orbis Mappa . . . duobus planispheriis graphicè depicta à Guliel Janssonio Alcmar," facsimile reproduction, edited by E. L. Stevenson, New York, 1914.

[17] *America Septentrionalis,* Amsterdam, 1641. Cf. Phillips' note in Lowery, *A Descriptive List,* 139.

As a result of this superimposing, Sanson's 1656 map is evidently worthless in many respects, yet so great was his popularity as a mapmaker that after the discovery of the Mississippi some draughtsmen traced the course of the newly found river on one of Sanson's North American maps, while others more judicious, made use of Dutch maps instead.

In 1674, the year following the discovery of the Mississippi, but before any news of it could have reached Paris, Hubert Jaillot published a map of North America quite different from those of Sanson.[18] Into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo at the northwest corner of the Gulf a R. de Espíritu Santo discharges itself, but this river is insignificant in comparison with the Chucagua which empties into the same bay. Five years later, in 1679, Duval's new conception of the geography of the Gulf Coast appeared in print. He has two "Rivières du St. Esprit" emptying into the northwestern bay, one coming from the northwest, and the other from the northeast.[19]

It seems clear from the above brief review of maps by geographers of every nationality in western Europe that they either dutifully copied old maps or indiscriminately inserted nomenclature and geographical features found on several maps into their own. Some have one Rio del Espíritu Santo, others have two; some legend the western one, others the eastern one, and still others write out the name along the course of both.

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[18] *Amerique Septentrionale . . . Par le S*^r^ *Sanson, . . . Presentee a Monseignevr le Davphin Par . . . Hubert Iaillot,* [Paris], 1674.

[19] *La Mer de Nort où sont la N*^le^*. France, la Floride, la N*^le^*. Espagne les Isles et la Terre-Ferme d'Amerique, Par P. Du-Val Geographe ordinaire du Roy, 1679.* Reproduced in *Frontières entre le Brésil et la Guyane Française.* Mémoire présenté par les États-Unis du Brésil au gouvernement de la Confédération Suisse, . . . 7 volumes in 6, Paris, 1899; the Atlases form volumes 6 and 7 of this "Mémoire," and contain a selection of maps prior to the Treaty of Utrecht, hereinafter quoted as *Atlas brésilien,* no. 79.

The news of La Salle's descent of the Mississippi to the sea reached Paris at the time when Coronelli was making the gores of his famous globe.[20] On his map of 1688—a variant of the gores of 1683—the Mississippi empties into the Gulf five degrees west of the "Bahia de lo Espu Santo, ò Mar pequeno," and into this bay flow the waters of a "Rio de lo Spiritu Santo," only the mouth of which is shown, while a 400-mile-long "R. del Spo Santo" discharges itself into Apalachee Bay. These peculiar features were repeated by Franquelin in 1684, when he redrew La Salle's map of the Mississippi.

It would be pointless to extend this review further or to enter into greater detail, since many of these maps will be examined in subsequent sections of this essay in connection with the sources used by the mapmaker. It will thus become clear that there is hardly any valid evidence for asserting that the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers is identical with the Mississippi. We shall only remark here that on his early maps and globes published under the name of his son Guillaume, Claude Delisle also has a Baye du St. Esprit in the northwestern corner of the Gulf,[21] but beginning with the map of 1703,[22] all traces of such a bay disappear, and the only Baye du St. Esprit which he mentions is now located on the west coast of the Floridan peninsula where Nicolas De Fer had placed it in 1699.[23]

The hundreds of maps of the Gulf Coast and of the country north of it which were examined in preparing this essay, have been divided, for the sake of convenience, into several groups. We have grouped together, for instance, those showing the coast line and merely indicating the mouth of the rivers; another group shows the course of some rivers, but this delineation is clearly the result of the mapmaker's fancy, and not of actual exploration; a third group of maps has the interior in greater detail, but in their case it is quite difficult to separate fancy from fact, or to ascertain the source of the draughtsman's information. In these and in all other groups of maps, we have attempted to isolate the essential geographical features and the fundamental nomenclature of the matrix map which served as a model. We have been careful to note additions occurring on some maps which in many cases have no other foundation than the draughtsman's imagination, or omissions which may be attributed to the inferior skill of the copyist or to exigencies of space. These changes obviously make no real difference. The additions do not argue progress in geographical knowledge any more than the omissions are a proof of priority.

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[20] Cf. J. Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys,* Chicago, 1938, 37-39; *id., Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* Chicago, 1941, 113-114; *id.,* "La Salle's Expedition of 1682," MID-AMERICA, XXII (January 1940), 22-23.

[21] See the "Carte de la Nouvelle France et des Paÿs voisins, 1696," in AN, JJ, 75-130, as well as the two variants, AN, JJ, 75-128; *Globe Terrestre . . .,* Paris, 1700; *L'Amerique Septentrionale,* Paris, 1700.

[22] *Carte du Mexique et de la Floride . . . du Cours et des Environs de la Riviere de Missisipi,* Paris, 1703.

[23] "Carte de la Coste et des Environs du Fleuve de Missisipi. 1699," in Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique (SHB), C 4040-2; this map is not signed, but compare it with De Fer's of 1701 in SHB, C 4040-5.

An important remark must be made at this point. When in the course of the following discussion two or more maps are said to be the same, it is understood that the similarity only applies to definite geographical features in the restricted area north of the Gulf Coast line from the Florida Keys to Tampico.

Besides these maps which, as we have said before, are one of the best means of learning what was known of the geography of the Lower Mississippi Valley and the adjacent territory before 1673, written descriptions of the country have also been made use of in order to ascertain whether the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers was the Mississippi. The time limit of our enquiry, moreover, has been extended beyond 1673, because after this date the French and the Spaniards were still in doubt about the identity of the Mississippi, although the French had explored its lower length to the Gulf in 1682, and the Spaniards rediscovered its mouth a few years later.

After these preliminary remarks which contain an outline of the plan followed in this essay, we shall now examine the first group of maps, namely, those which show only the coast line and the mouth of the rivers emptying into the Gulf.

II

The maps of Cantino,[1] Canerio,[2] Waldseemüller,[3] and the

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[1] Full-size photographic reproduction in E. L. Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating Early Discovery and Exploration in America (1502-1530),* New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1906, no. 1. The American part is reproduced in colors in H. Harrisse, *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau-Monde,* Paris, 1883; also in black and white, greatly reduced, in Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America,* Paris, 1892, 79, etc. A good bibliography on this and other early maps will be found in Lowery's *Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions.*—The map derived its name from an Italian inscription on the back: "Carta da nauigar per le Isole nouam^{te} tr[ouate] in le parte de l'India: dono Alberto Cantino al S. Duca Hercole."

Admiral's map[4] are quite useless for the present discussion. It is by no means certain that the continent shown to the northwest of "Isabelle Insula" is the present-day territory which roughly includes Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, or that the island northwest of "Spagnola" on the Ruysch map[5] represents the same region; and there is little likelihood that the peninsula jutting out into the ocean toward the southeast on the first four of these maps represents Florida. If the gulf shown on them is indeed the Gulf of Mexico, and if these maps are cartographical expressions of actual explorations, it still remains to be explained why the mapmakers studded this gulf with so many islands. Dawson's theory,[6] which ingeniously harmonizes these maps with documentary evidence, rightly insists that the hypothesis of "unknown navigators" is too easy a solution of cartographical puzzles.

The earliest map to show the contours of the Gulf is a very crude sketch, known as the Pineda map,[7] which, it is believed was sent to Spain by Francisco de Garay.[8] This sketch is a mere

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Cantino was an ambassador from Hercules d'Este, duke of Ferrara, to the King of Portugal.

[2] E. L. Stevenson, *Marine World Chart of Nicolo Canerio Januensis. 1502 (circa). A Critical Study with Facsimile,* New York, 1908. The northern part of the Western Hemisphere in Harrisse, *Discovery of North America,* 306; North and South America in Kretschmer, *Atlas,* Taf. VIII.

[3] J. Fischer and Fr. R. von Wieser, eds., *The Oldest Map with the name America of the year 1507 and the Carta Marina of the year 1516 by M. Waldseemüller (Ilacomilus),* Innsbruck, 1903.

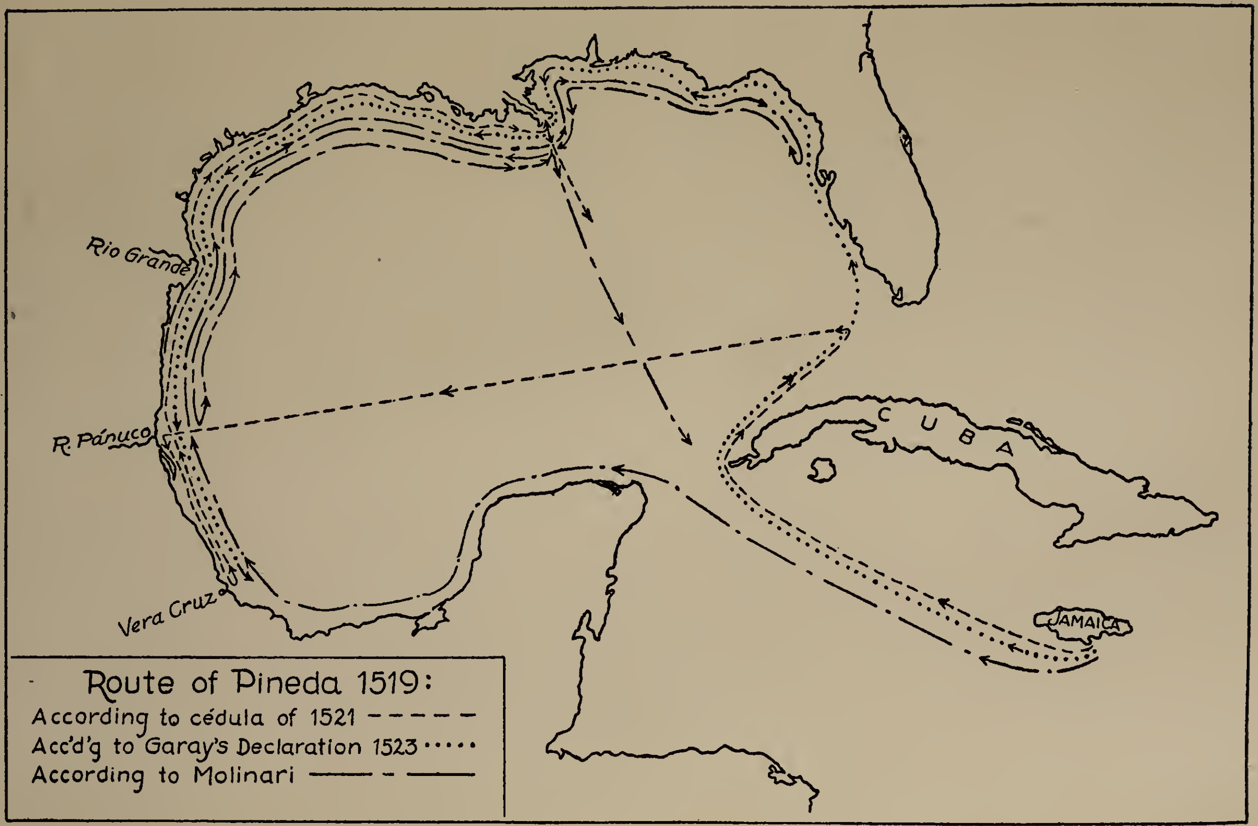
[4] "Tabula Terre Nove," in Ptolemy, *Geographiae opus,* Augsburg, 1513. The map has often been reproduced, v. g., in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* 8 volumes, Boston and New York, [c1884-1889], II, 12, Kretschmer, Taf. XII, no. 1, etc.

[5] "Vniversalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula ex recentibus confecta observationibvs," in *Geographiae Cl. Ptolemaei,* Rome, 1508, reproduced in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History,* III, 9.

[6] S. E. Dawson, *The Saint Lawrence Basin and its Borderlands,* London, 1905, 54.

[7] Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato, 1-1-1/26-16, photograph in the Karpinski Collection; reproduction in M. Fernandez de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles del Siglo XV . . .,* 5 volumes, Madrid, 1858-1880^2, III, facing p. 148; in N. A. E., Nordenskiöld, *Periplus, an Essay on the early History of Charts and sailing-directions,* Stockholm, 1897, 179, in Kretschmer, Taf. XIV, no. 6, etc.

[8] For the antecedents of the voyage of "Alonso Alvares de Pineda o Pinedo" as Bernal Díaz del Castillo calls him, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España,* Mexico, 1939, 210, 211, and the route of Pineda, cf. Harrisse, *Discovery of North America,* 167 ff. The information is too scanty to come to a definite conclusion. See on the accompanying sketch the route plotted according to the *cédula* of 1521, Fernandez de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes,* III, 148-149, and according to Garay's declaration of 1523, in J. F. Pacheco and F. de Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones Españoles en América y Oceanía,* 42 volumes, Madrid, 1864-1884,



Route of Pineda 1519:

According to cédula of 1521 - - - - -
Acc'd'g to Garay's Declaration 1523 • • • • •
According to Molinari ——— - ———
Rio Grande
R. Pánuco
Vera Cruz
CUBA
JAMAICA

outline on which neither latitudes nor longitudes are marked, but for all its crudeness, considering that it is very probably the first drawing made from actual observation, it gives a good delineation of the coast of the whole Gulf from the Florida Keys to Yucatan. The mouths of three unnamed rivers are indicated between "Rio Panuco" and "Rio d. Espu Santo." At the mouth of the latter river, the mapmaker began to draw a large bay, to which, however, he gave no name.

With regard to a possible identification of the Rio del Espíritu Santo with the Mississippi on the basis of this sketch, the following should be said: We have no account by Pineda of his journey along the coast; we do not even have the petition sent by Garay to the court; all we have is the royal *cédula* of 1521 authorizing the governor of Jamaica to colonize the country. In this *cédula* there is a vague reference to a "drawing" made by someone unknown. It has been gratuitously surmised that this "drawing" is the Pineda sketch, on which the mouth of a river is legended "Rio del Espíritu Santo." The river mentioned, but not named, in the royal document of 1521 is described as follows:

> They entered a very large and mighty [literally, carrying much water] river. At its entrance, you say, they found a large town where they remained forty days careening their vessels. The people of the land were very friendly toward the Spaniards who went with the fleet, trading with them of what they had. They sailed up the river a distance of six leagues and found forty towns on either side. They admired very much, all of the country along which they coasted and which they discovered, the land, the harbors, and the rivers, as appears from a drawing (*como por una figura . . . parecia*), which has been delivered unto Us on your behalf by the pilots who went with the said fleet. Thereby it appears that the said *adelantados* Diego Velasquez and Juan Ponce de Leon and yourself, have discovered the mainland and the coast thereof, and that the coast and mainland which you discovered was given the name Provincia de Amichel. . . .[9]

If one does not try to read into the text what is not there, all that we learn from this description is that a large river empties into the Gulf. No mention is made of its passing through a bay as indicated on the Pineda map, and hence there is no reason for asserting that this river is the Rio del Espíritu Santo

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XXVIII, 500. Included is the latest interpretation of Pineda's voyage by Diego Luís Molinari, *El Nacimiento del Nuevo Mondo, 1492-1534, Historia y Cartografia,* Buenos Aires, (©1941).

[9] Royal *cédula* of 1521, in Fernandez de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes,* III, 149; cf. Garay's declaration in, Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos,* XXVIII, 500.

as shown on this map. Besides, if one considers the position of the Rio del Espíritu Santo on the map, it can hardly be the Mississippi, for, although neither coordinates nor scale are given, the mouth of the river is located near the southward curve of the coast line, much farther west than the actual position of the delta, which, as we know, divides the northern coast of the Gulf into two nearly equal halves. Furthermore, it is difficult to see how the description of the river in the *cédula* could apply to the mouth of the Mississippi at any historical period;[10] it is also difficult to see how there could have been a large town at the entrance of the river, and especially how there could have been forty towns on the banks of the Mississippi over a distance of six Spanish sea leagues from its mouth, if we take into consideration the geological formation of the delta. It is generally admitted that during the past four centuries the delta has advanced ten miles into the Gulf. Hence the forty towns would have been clustered along the banks over a distance of twenty-five miles, as far as what we now call "The Jump." Anyone who has seen the Mississippi twenty-five miles above the passes will hesitate before identifying it with the river described in the *cédula* which asserts that there were twenty towns, a mile apart, on both banks of the river.

We shall next consider what may be called the Cortés map, although it properly belongs to the second group. In 1524, the first Latin edition of Cortés' second letter of 1520 was published at Nuremberg.[11] This edition contains a plan of Mexico City and also a map of the Gulf. On it, between the Rio Pánuco and the Rio del Espíritu Santo, five names are inscribed, three of which are descriptive rather than geographical: "Rio panuco laoton," "Tamacho pruicia," "R la palma," "R de Arboledas," "p° de Arrecifos," and "Rio del spiritu sancto." Many difficulties which arise in connection with the Pineda drawing would be solved if we knew the origin of the manuscript sketch used for this map by the German engraver. Cortés wrote in the letter: "I also prayed Montezuma to tell me if on the seacoast there was any river or bay where ships could enter safely, and he answered me that he did not know, but that he would have the coast drawn for me, with its bays and rivers, and that I might send the Spaniards to see them and that he would give me people to guide and take them; and thus he did."[12] It is doubtful, however, if this drawing showed the coast line from the Rio Pánuco to the Rio del Espíritu Santo, and it is also doubtful if the Spaniards explored the coast line from their base at Vera Cruz to the Punto de Arrecifes,[13] which latter is still about fifty Spanish sea leagues from the Rio del Espíritu Santo on the map.

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[10] Cf. the reasoning of Scaife, *op. cit.,* 145 ff.

[11] *Praeclara Ferdinãdi Cortesii de Noua maris Oceani Hyspanica Narratio, Nuremberg,* 1524. Six months later, there appeared an Italian translation of this letter, *La preclara Narratione di Ferdinando Cortese della Nuoua Hispagna del Mare Oceano,* Venice, 1524. The Venetian engraver traced the outline of the map, and inserted the place-names—some of which he translated into Italian—in Latin characters. He was evidently unfamiliar with Gothic characters; he transcribed, for instance, "Rio de dos bocas," by "Rio de dos Gotas." The German engraver began to write the legend "Rio panüco" too close to the coast line, so that the last syllable "co" had to be inscribed between the two branches of the river. The legend "laoton" meant to designate the region west of the river is so close to the syllable "co" as to make it appear one word, and in fact the Italian engraver wrote "Colaoton." This mistaken reading is found on many subsequent maps, either because later draughtsmen erred in the same manner as the Venetian or because they copied the latter's map.

The sketch used by the German engraver was obviously similar to the Pineda drawing, and the additional nomenclature on the printed map, although somewhat vague, seems to be genuine. It is known that some of Pineda's men were captured by Cortés, and these may have supplied the conquistador with the information necessary to draw the coast line as well as with the additional names which are found on the printed map. Cortes would naturally omit the two legends in which the exploration of the whole coast line from Apalachee Bay to the Gulf of Honduras is credited to Garay and Diego Velásquez. With regard to the position of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, we may note that on the Cortes map its mouth is as much to the east of the real position of the Mississippi as it is to the west on the Pineda sketch.

The nomenclature of the Gulf Coast from Florida to the Rio Pánuco on the Visconte de Maggiollo map of 1527[14] is similar to that on the Cortés map. The "Rio De Spiritu Stõ" is placed where the coast begins to slope toward the southwest, and there is no sharp bend on the coast line until the Rio Pánuco, the name of which is not inscribed, but its mouth is represented by a huge bay twice as long as that into which the Rio del Espíritu Santo empties. The legend "lacoto" between the two rivers which join to form the Rio Pánuco estuary is evidently a misreading of the word *laoton* on the Cortes map.

The Maggiollo map is mentioned here not for any intrinsic merits, but because it has certain points of resemblance with the Verrazano map.[15] On both these maps the Yucatan peninsula is represented as an island as it is on the Cortés map, and on both maps Florida is joined to a northern continent by a narrow isthmus. The latitudes marked on both maps are hopelessly inaccurate; thus, the southernmost tip of the Florida peninsula on the Maggiollo map is at latitude 20°, five degrees too low; and the Tropic of Cancer runs just north of the bay into which the Rio del Espíritu Santo empties; on the Verrazano map, the southernmost end of Florida is at latitude 33°30′, eight and a half degrees too high; and the northern coast of the Gulf runs along the 39th degree of latitude, *i. e.,* the parallel passing through the mouth of the Missouri River and Washington, D. C.

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[12] F. A. MacNutt, *Fernando Cortés his five letters of Relation to the Emperor Charles V,* 2 volumes, Cleveland, 1908, I, 244-245.

[13] Cf. *ibid.,* 245, and Barcia, *Ensayo cronologico,* Madrid, 1723, 7.

[14] [Map of the World], in Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating,* no. 10; Western Hemisphere in Harrisse, *Discovery of North America,* between pp. 216-217; North and Central America, in Kretschmer, Taf. XIV, no. 7.

The nomenclature along the Gulf Coast on the Verrazano map is unique. Beginning at the western end of a large bay into which the Rio del Espíritu Santo empties, and reading eastward, we have the following names which are found on no other maps: "Onari," "tabarca," "Golfo dasbasa," the last presumably the name of the bay itself; the mouth of a river is labeled "C. formiter," and next come the two words "quippia" and "Corominel." After this begins an inscription which the mapmaker saw on the Pineda map or on some copy of it. The Pineda map as we have it today has: "desde aquj començo // a descubrir fran^{co} de // garay." The Verrazano variant of this is as follows: "qui comincio // a descoprit // franc^{o} // degarra." And immediately after this inscription we have the following words: "ultimo // della // nova // Hispania."

The Maggiollo map and especially the Verrazano are of no value for ascertaining the state of geographical knowledge of the Gulf Coast between 1527 and 1529, and still less for ascertaining whether the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spaniards is the Mississippi. On the Verrazano map the Rio del Espíritu Santo is not even mentioned.

Before coming to the maps based on the padrón made by the official Spanish cartographers, mention should be made of a chart known as the Salviati map,[16] so called because the coat of arms of this distinguished Italian family is found twice on the map. Giovanni Salviati was papal nuncio in Spain from 1525 to

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[15] It bears the inscription "Hyeronimus de Verraxano faciebat," Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating,* no. 12; a good reproduction of North America is in C. O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States,* New York, 1932, Pl. XIII.

[16] Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating,* no. 7.

1530, and it is surmised that the map was made during that time. The present writer believes that it was based on a prototype anterior to the padrón of 1527-1529. This opinion was arrived at by comparing the nomenclature form the Rio Pánuco to the Rio del Espíritu Santo on this Salviati map with that of the maps based on the Seville padrón of about 1527. The nomenclature for this section of the Gulf Coast is similar in both, and it may well express cartographically the reports of the pilots who sailed along the coast between 1520 and 1525. The fuller nomenclature on the maps of 1527 and 1529 is accounted for by the fact that the Spanish geographers received further pilots' reports from 1526 to 1529. That these new names were not invented by the geographers in Seville, but that they represent the results of actual observations, is practically certain. These men had no intention to deceive; it was of paramount importance that they should have as accurate knowledge as possible of the coast line of the New World. Nor is it reasonable to think that the pilots filled up their official sailing charts at random with names of places which they had not seen. This would have been too dangerous, for these same pilots had to return to those shores, and they would be jeopardizing their own lives as well as the lives of their crew by inaccurate records.

This conclusion is derived from what we know of the workings of the geographical department of the Casa de la Contratación in Seville. A brief account of the origin and mechanism of this organization will make clear the grounds for the deductions of the preceding paragraph. It will also explain the similarity of so many maps of the Gulf Coast and will help to a solution of the main question at issue, namely, whether the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers is the Mississippi. Once we know the genesis of the padrón, *i. e.,* of the basic map or prototype, and once we know whether it is trustworthy and accurate, it only remains to show that this matrix was copied again and again by subsequent mapmakers who introduced occasional changes in the nomenclature. As will be seen, these changes were accidental and do not affect the position of the main geographical features of the coast line, among them the position of the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

Before Columbus left for his second voyage, the Council of the Indies had been established as a special department of the government, with direct control over the affairs of the New World. Ten years later, in 1503, an agency independent of the

Council was founded at Seville, the Casa de la Contratación, which had jurisdiction over the trade between the mother country and the Spanish dominions. New discoveries and conquests gave rise to new administrative problems; and in order to handle them more efficiently, the Casa was divided into departments. The geographical department, established in August 1508, was composed of pilots, cartographers, professors of cosmography or navigation, and technicians who designed maps and sailing charts, and was headed by a chairman who had the title of *piloto mayor.*[17]

In the decree creating this hydrographic service, the king declared that upon being informed that "there were many models of charts by various masters . . . which greatly differed one from the other,"[18] he therefore ordered a patent map to be drawn which was to be called *Padrón Real.* One of the reasons for having this pattern made was the utility of accurate maps for navigation and trade, since good maps of the coast line of the fast expanding Spanish empire would notably lessen the number of shipwrecks. This order of Ferdinand was carried out by a commission composed of the ablest members of the department presided over by the *piloto mayor.* The model which they were to make was to include all the land and isles of the Indies then discovered which belonged to the Spanish sovereign. This general map was to be official, and all pilots were forbidden to use any other under a penalty of fifty doubloons. They were also enjoined to mark on the copy used during their voyages all lands, isles, bays, harbors, and other things worthy of note, and they were commanded to communicate the chart so amended and annotated to the *piloto mayor* upon their return to Spain. The latter would then discuss with his colleagues of the Casa whether the information received would be inserted in the *Padrón Real.* The *piloto mayor* and certain crown pilots were allowed to make copies of the padrón or to have them made by the mapmakers of the department, and were allowed to sell them for their own benefit, according to a tariff determined by the Casa.[19]

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[17] Detailed accounts concerning the Casa de la Contratación will be found in M. Fernandez de Navarrete, *Disertación sobre la Historia de Náutica, y de las Ciencias Matemáticas que han contribuido a sus Progressos entre los Españoles,* Madrid, 132 ff. Harrisse, *Discovery of North America,* 13 ff., and 256 ff.; G. Latorre, "La Cartografía Colonial Americana," in *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas,* año III (1915), no. 6, 1-10; nos. 9 and 10, 1-14; E. L. Stevenson, "The Geographical Activities of the Casa de la Contratación," in *Annals* of the Association of American Geographers, XVII, 1927, 39-59; etc. All these studies are based on Joseph de Veitia Linaje, *Norte de la Contratación de las Indias Occidentales,* 2 volumes in one, Seville, 1672, 139 ff.; the various ordinances and royal *cédulas* will be found in *Recopilación de Leyes de Reynos de las Indias,* 4 volumes, Madrid, 1756^2, III, lib. IX, tit. xxiii, 285 ff.

[18] *Cédula* of August 6, 1508, addressed to Amerigo Vespucci, in Fernandez de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes,* III, 303.

The elements of the first model were borrowed from maps then current in Spain. But an ordinance of Charles V issued sixteen years later shows that the cosmographers of the Casa were remiss in carrying out the provisions of the decree of 1508. Either because the pilots failed to return their annotated maps, or because the members of the department neglected to insert in the padrón the geographical knowledge acquired as further discoveries were made, the official map, which should have embodied the best and latest information was considered inferior, in 1512, to that of Andrés de Morales.[20] At the time of Charles V's ordinance, just as before the decree of 1508, charts at variance with each other were still in circulation. They were being made and sold by pilots who were unwilling to submit their charts for approval to the *piloto mayor,* since they were encroaching upon his and other crown pilots' monopoly. The accuracy of these bootlegged maps depended on the fancy of their makers. Latitudes varied, scales were changed, directions were altered, and coast delineations modified, all of which rendered navigation insecure.

This state of affairs lasted until 1526. On October 6, of that year, Charles V ordered Diego Ribero and the other cosmographers and pilots of the Casa to draw an official map, known henceforth as the *Padrón General.*[21] This official map was to be kept in the Casa. At the beginning of each year the *piloto mayor,* after conferring with the cosmographers of the department and other persons versed in navigation, was to insert in it what had been learned during the course of the preceding year. Charles V also "authorized all professional cartographers residing at Seville to design and sell maps of the New World, with no other restriction than to have the same approved by the *piloto mayor* and the cosmographers of the Casa. He even permitted the *piloto mayor* himself to sell not only copies of the *Padrón General* but also maps and globes of his own making, provided that trade in such articles was not carried on within the city of Seville."[22] All maps were to be modeled after the *Padrón General* and no other. Members of the geographical department of the Casa transgressing this last provision were to be fined 50,000 *maravédis,* and suspended from their office at the king's pleasure.[23]

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[19] Cf. the text taken from the Muñoz manuscripts in Harrisse, *Discovery of North America,* 15, note 8.

[20] Fernandez de Navarrete, *Disertación sobre la Historia de la Náutica,* 138.

[21] Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos,* XXXII, 512.

[22] Harrisse, *Discovery of North America,* 16-17.

The *Padrón General* was not a completely new map. Since the *Padrón Real* had been compiled from the maps available in Spain, the geographers of the Casa used the *Padrón Real* as a base, complementing, correcting, amending, and bringing it up to date. We possess no copy of either of these two standard maps, the *Padrón Real* and the *Padrón General,* but a map of the world drawn in 1527 very likely represents the *Padrón General* as it appeared in that year. This map, known as the Weimar map or globe after the town where it is preserved,[24] is unfinished and only shows the east coast of the New World from Labrador to the Strait of Magellan. There are three other extant maps which were made within a few years after the decree of 1526, and which represent various states of the *Padrón General.* One, undated, unsigned, and unfinished, was discovered in Wolfenbüttel Castle, Germany;[25] the other two are signed by Diego Ribero, the cosmographer whom Charles V ordered to make the *Padrón General.* These two maps—or rather these two states of one map—were made in 1529.[26] One is in the Grand Ducal Library of Weimar with the 1527 map, while the other, sometimes referred to as the "Second Borgia Map" after the name of the donor, is in the library of the De Propaganda Fide college at Rome.[27]

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[23] *Recopilación de Leyes,* III, lib. IX, tit. xxiii, ley xii, 287v.

[24] Carta Vniversal en qve se contiene todo lo qve del Mvndo sea Descvb[ierto] fasta aora hizola vn cosmographo de sv magestad Anno M. D. XX. VII. en Sevilla. Reproduced in Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating,* no. 9. "It seems probable," says Stevenson, "that this map was constructed for Charles V, who took it to Rome, whence it was brought to Nuremberg in 1530 or thereabouts." It was acquired by the Grand Duke Karl August in 1811, and placed in the Grand Ducal Library. J. G. Kohl, who made a detailed study of this map as well as that of 1529 by Ribero, *infra,* holds them to be two distinct works based on one *padrón, Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika,* Weimar, 1860. I am inclined to believe that Ribero is the author of both.

[25] Photographic reproduction, actual size, in Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating,* no. 8.

[26] Carta Universal en que Se contiene todo lo que del mundo se ha descubierto fasta agora. Hizola Diego Ribero Cosmographo de Su Magestad: Año de 1529. This map, or part of it, has often been reproduced; the most satisfactory is the actual size photograph in Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating,* no. 11. Cf. J. G. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten,* and M. C. Sprengel, *Ueber Diego Riberos Welt-Karte von 1529,* Weimar, 1795.

[27] Carta Vniversal en que se contiene todo lo que del mundo se ha descubierto fasta agora. hizola Diego Ribero cosmographo de Su Magestad: Año de: 1529. ẽ Seujlla. Reduced facsimile in colors published by W.

On May 20, 1535, Isabella of Portugal ordered Fernando Columbus to assemble pilots and cosmographers in Seville, and to have the all important map which her husband, Charles V, had commanded Diego Ribero to make in 1526, executed at once.[28] According to Harrisse, this order was issued by the queen because Charles V's command "remained a dead letter for nine years,"[29] and because there was still no padrón in 1535. This interpretation is possible on the wording of the *cédula,* but there are good reasons for rejecting it. The Weimar map was made in Seville, as is specified in the title by "a cosmographer of His Majesty," who was very probably Ribero himself; and there are two other maps signed by Ribero—who had been commanded by Charles V to execute the *Padrón General*—which were also made in Seville in 1529. Moreover, all these maps are so similar in delineation and nomenclature, and the positions of towns and rivers are so nearly alike that one may legitimately conclude that they were all made on various states of a basic model which can only have been the *Padrón General.* Besides, it is hardly credible that the geographers of the Casa waited nine years before carrying out the order of the king.

With regard to these various official maps, the following may be said. Between 1509 and 1525, there was in Seville a matrix map called the *Padrón Real* compiled from maps available in Spain. At some time during these years the Gulf of Mexico was inserted in it. Whether the Turin, the Salviati, and other maps were based on it is a matter of conjecture. In 1527, the geographers of the Casa revised this chart, which was known thereafter as the *Padrón General,* and which is, very probably, the model followed by the author of the Weimar globe of 1527, and by Ribero for his maps of 1529. We know that in 1536, the year after Isabella of Portugal wrote to Fernando Columbus, a map was made by Alonso de Chaves which was almost certainly a copy of the *Padrón General* as it then existed in the Casa de la Contratación at Seville. Hence although most of the magnificent cartographical output of the early Spanish geographers is lost, their extant charts enable us to form an idea of the appearance of the model kept in Seville, and thus we can ascertain what the geographers of the Casa de la Contratación knew about the Gulf

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Griggs, London, [1887]; on this reproduction cf. E.-T. Hamy, *Note sur la Mappemonde de Diego Ribero (1529) conservée au Musée de la Propagande de Rome,* Paris, 1887.

[28] Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos,* XXXII, 512-513.

[29] *Discovery of North America,* 16.

of Mexico, and about the rivers along the coast line which were sighted, named, and navigated by Spanish pilots and explorers.

A study of the accompanying table of the nomenclature of the Gulf Coast on four early Spanish maps will show that the Weimar globe represents an earlier state of the *Padrón General.* If, as I believe, Ribero is the author of the Weimar globe, it is likely that this earlier map is the *Padrón Real* with emendations. When, however, two years later, this able geographer drew his

NOMENCLATURE ON FOUR EARLY SPANISH MAPS OF THE GULF OF MEXICC

Weimar	Wolfenbüttel	Ribero - Weimar	Ribero - Borgia
Las palmas			
	R. de palmas		
	costa tesa	costa tesa	
		Rio de palmas	R. de Palmas
la madalena			
	C. bravo	C. bravo	C. bravo
	malabrigo	malabrigo	
R. scondido	R. escondido	R. escondido	R. escondido
	anegados	anegados	anegados
	playa baxa	playa baxa	p. baxa
R. de loro	R. de loro	R. del oro	R. del oro
	Tr̃a de gigantes	Ter̃a de gigãtes	ter̃a de gigãtes
p^o de arrecifes			
	C. sirto	C. sirto	C. sirto
C de ✠	C. de cruz		
R. del Spiritu Sancto	R. del Espũ Sto	R. del Espũ Stõ	R. del espũ Stõ
	ostial	ostial	ostial
mar pequeña	mar pequena	mar pequeña	mar peqña
Matas // de S. Salvador	Motas de Salvador	Motas del Salvador	Motas del Salvador
Ancones	Ancones	Ancones	Ancones
Medanos		Medanos	
Aldea		aldea	
p. llana			
el canaveral	el canaveral		
		recifes	
R. de flores	R. de flores	R. de flores	R. de flores
Reciffes		recifes	
	Angla		
			Medanos
	praceles	ꝑceles	
	Ancones		
			p. de baxos
R. de nieves	R. de nieves	R. de nieves	R. de nieves
dende aqui			
descobrio fr^{co}		terra de Garay	dende aq.
de Garay			descubrio Garay
			canaveral
			c. de farallones
costa tesa	costa tessa	costa tessa	
R. de S. Juhan	R. de S. Juhan		R. de s. Juan
las matas			
ancon baxo	p^o baxe		
	navidade		
	boque		
	C. escondido		
	R. de la concepcion		
		R. de Cõabicion	R. de cõabicion
	motas	motas	motas
	atalaya	atalaya	atalaya
b. de Juan ponce	b. de Juhan ponce	b. de juã ponce	b. de Juã ponce
R. de canoas		R. de canoas	
			R. esta para [?]
[R] de la paz			R. de la paz
R. de spana			
	playa		
		aguada	
	canico	canico	

charts of 1529, the model map had undergone great changes. It is clear that the Wolfenbüttel map contains elements of the other two, plus a few legends from maps no longer extant. On the Weimar globe, the Rio del Espíritu Santo is located on the northern coast line, two thirds of the distance between the Floridan peninsula and the point where the coast begins to bend southwestwards, 150 leagues from the east shore of Apalachee Bay. These leagues are Spanish sea leagues, numbering seventeen and a half to a degree of latitude; hence the river on this globe is located near present-day Galveston Bay. On the other three maps, which as noted above, represent either the *Padrón Real* greatly amended or else an improved *Padrón General,* the bay into which the river disembogues is located at the same place, and the shape of the bay on the Ribero map of 1529 so closely resembles Galveston Bay that it would seem that the cosmographer drew it on reports of pilots who saw it.

Much information about the *Padrón General* as it existed in 1536 is found in Oviedo. This chronicler was greatly interested in maps. He seems to have known Ribero personally, and he was the friend of two other cosmographers of the Casa, Alonso de Chaves and Alonso de Santa Cruz. Whatever may be said about Oviedo's "prejudices," he had a more critical mind than many of his detractors, both contemporary and modern. In his *Historia General y Natural de las Indias,* he describes the American coast line from Labrador to the Strait of Magellan, according to the "latest maps by the cosmographer Alonso de Chaves in the year 1536, in conformity with the order of our sovereign, the Emperor, commanding learned and experienced persons, chosen for this purpose, to examine the *padrones* and the sailing charts."[30] He warns the reader that this map of Chaves does not represent the coast line north of latitude 51°30′, and that he used the Ribero map for describing the coast above this latitude. He makes many comparisons between the map of Ribero and that of Chaves, and corrects some of the data given by the latter with the help of the memoirs and maps of Santa Cruz. With regard to the coast of Argentine, for instance, about which the maps of Santa Cruz and Chaves are at variance, he accepts the data of the former in preference to those of the latter, because Santa Cruz actually saw this coast, having gone thither with Sebastian Cabot in 1526. With regard to the coast of Castilla del Oro, he discarded the distances given by Chaves, because "I spent the best part of my life" in this part of America, and traveled along the coast "with a quadrant or an astrolabe in my hand . . . taking the latitude by the sun or by Polaris."[31]

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[30] Oviedo, *Historia General,* II, 150. I am advised that E. L. Stevenson has a photograph of a 250-page Chaves original manuscript which he found in the king's library at Madrid. I saw extracts from Chapter VIII of this manuscript and noticed little difference between the text and that published in the *Historia.* Stevenson thinks it probable that Oviedo had at least some parts of the Chaves manuscript before him when he wrote. Oviedo himself asserts that he used an autograph Chaves map, II, 116, for his description of the American coast line. Cf. I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909,* 6 volumes, New York, 1915-1928, II, 39-40.

The present writer reconstructed the Chaves map of the Gulf beginning with latitude 19°, according to the directions, distances, and latitudes given by Oviedo. The result is a sketch which closely resembles in outline that of Ribero.[32] With regard to the nomenclature from the Rio de las Palmas to the Rio de Nieves, we have a combination of the names which are found on the Weimar globe, and on the Ribero maps, plus four new, strictly geographical names: "Rio Solo," "Rio de Pescadores," "Rio de las Montannas," and "Bahía del Espíritu Santo." According to Oviedo, Chaves inserted in the west coast of the Floridan peninsula a few new descriptive names and one geographical name: "B. de Miruelo." He had kept one legend, "B. de Juan Ponce," which is found on the four preceding maps; one, "R. de las Canoas," which is found on the Weimar globe and on the Ribero-Weimar of 1529, and one, "Rio de la Paz," which is found on the Weimar and on the Ribero-Borgia map. With regard to the position of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, we learn from Oviedo that on the Chaves map, the river emptied into a bay distant 160 leagues from Cabo Baxo, which is clearly the modern Cape San Blas in Florida. This means that the river is in the vicinity of Galveston Bay, just as it is on the other maps.[33]

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[31] *Historia General,* II, 136-137.

[32] The diagram from the Rio Pánuco to the Punta de Florida in Minnesota Historical *Collections,* VII, 1893, facing p. 28, has all the names along the north shore of the Gulf, only a few between the Rio Pánuco and the Rio del Espíritu Santo, and none on the west coast of the Floridan peninsula. The excerpt from Oviedo in *The Historical Magazine,* X, 1866, 371-374, is an adaptation rather than an English translation of the passage with quite a few errors of interpretation.

[33] Within a few years after the date of Chaves' map, Battista Agnese, a Genoese artist, began to produce many maps and atlases; cf. the extensive bibliography in H. R. Wagner, *The Manuscript Atlases of Battista Agnese,* a reprint for private circulation from *The Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXV, 1931. "The scientific merit of the Atlases of Agnese," says Harrisse, *Discovery of North America,* 628, "is very inferior to the artistic skill which they exhibit, . . . [they] possess no other merit than to be beautifully calligraphed or miniatured, not intended for use by mariners or scholars, and altogether objects of arts, destined to be offered

Despite the rhetoric about the Spaniards jealously guarding their maps and the oft-mentioned "obscurantism of the Church" which, we are told, was opposed to the diffusion of geographical knowledge, there were all over Europe, at this time, copies of maps based on the padrón which embodied the results of Spanish discoveries. This has been demonstrated by Harrisse and others. If additional proof were needed, it could be had from the fact that Gerard Mercator, when in 1541 he published the gores of his terestrial globe at Louvain,[34] which was then in Spanish territory, evidently had access to copies of maps very like those made by the cosmographers of the Casa de la Contratación.

If we examine the nomenclature of the Gulf Coast, we notice in the first place that limitations of space prevented the draughtsman or the engraver from inserting all the names which were on the map or maps at his disposal. Secondly, all place-names, with two exceptions, are to be found on maps previously analyzed; one of these new names is "R. de los angelos"; the other "Guadalquibil," is inserted between the Rio del Espíritu Santo and the Mar pequeña, and is also repeated on Mercator's map of 1569, but is not found on any previous or subsequent Spanish maps. Finally there are quite a few mistakes of transcription which show that the draughtsman or the engraver had an imperfect knowledge of Spanish.

The first and the third of the above points are so obvious as to need no elaboration; the second may be made clear from the following comparative list.

R. d palmas	Wolfenbüttel, Ribero-Weimar, Ribero-Borgia
Palmar	Chaves 1536
Cabo brauo	On all the maps
Costa tesa	Wolfenbüttel, Ribero-Weimar
Malabrigo	Wolfenbüttel, Ribero-Weimar
Magdalena	Weimar
[R.] de piscadores	Chaves 1536
R d gigãtes	Tierra de gigantes: Wolfenbüttel, two Ribero maps
C. d zierto	Chaves 1536

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as presents, and to adorn the libraries of the rich." Harrisse had said the same thing ten years earlier in *Jean et Sébastien Cabot. Leur origine et leurs voyages,* Paris, 1882, 189.

[34] Reproduced in facsimile after the original preserved in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, in *Sphère terrestre et Sphère céleste de Gerard Mercator de Ruppelmonde éditées à Louvain en 1541 et 1551,* Brussels, 1875.

R del espiritu Santo	On all the maps
Guadalquibil	Cf. *supra*
Marpequena	On all the maps
Mata d Salmador	On all the maps
R. d Medam	Medanos: Weimar and the two Ribero maps
Costa d flores	R. de flores on all the maps
R de los angelos	Cf. *supra*
R de nieues	On all the maps
Nauidad	Wolfenbüttel
C. el Condido	*i. e.,* escondido: Wolfenbüttel
B. del guernador pãfilo	Cabot map
B. de vulguelo	*i. e.,* Miruelo: Chaves 1536

This shows that with regard to the nomenclature of the Gulf Coast, Mercator's globe closely follows maps based on the padrón. As for the position of the bay into which the Rio del Espíritu Santo empties, measurements show that on the preceding maps this bay is situated between 150 and 160 leagues from the west Florida coast. This distance can be computed by the simple process of applying the scale along the coast line. The Mercator map contains the longitudes as well as a scale. He says that each degree of longitude on the equator is equal to 18 Spanish leagues, 20 French leagues, 15 German leagues, 60,000 steps, 500 stades. According to this scale the bay is 144 leagues[35] from the west coast of Florida and its entrance is slightly below latitude 30°, which means that the bay is just east of present-day Galveston Bay, in approximately the same position which it occupies on the other maps.

In the year following the publication of Mercator's globe, Alonzo de Santa Cruz, one of the distinguished members of the geographical department of the Casa de la Contratación, drew a map of the world.[36] The Gulf Coast as represented on this map is similar to that of the lost Chaves map of 1536, except that the exigencies of space forced the draughtsman to omit many place-names. In particular the position of the bay into which the Rio del Espíritu Santo is very nearly the same as on the Chaves map.[37] Sometime after 1560, Santa Cruz composed his *Islario General.*[38] The geographical names therein along the Gulf Coast are identical with those of the Chaves map of 1536, and the position of the bay is the same as on the other maps.

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[35] The same distance is obtained if the longitudinal difference, between these two points, 9°20′, is multiplied by the cosine of the latitude, 30°.

[36] "Nova verior et integra totius orbis Descriptio nunc primum in lucem edita per Alfonsum de Santa Cruz Caesaris Caroli V. Archicosmographum A. D. M. D. XLII." Reproduction in phototypic facsimile . . . with explanations by E. W. Dahlgreen, under the title *Map of the World by Alonzo de Santa Cruz, 1542,* Stockholm, 1892. In spite of what is said in the Latin title, the map was never published. Dahlgreen calls attention to the fact that on the Ribero map of 1529, an inscription at the mouth of the Congo River speaks of many converts to Christianity twenty years earlier. This inscription is repeated by Santa Cruz, but these conversions are said to have occurred thirty years ago; "thus it seems probable that, on his map of 1542 Santa Cruz copied without any change an inscription which he wrote down as early as 1539."

Sebastian Cabot's map of 1544 contains only slight variations from the Chaves map of 1536, with regard both to the nomenclature and to the position of the bay.[39] The Spanish names were copied by a man who was more familiar with Italian than with Castilian. The copyist's attention flagged at times; thus, for instance, he has the Rio de Pescadores correctly placed, but where the Chaves map has Rio Escondido, we find "rio de pescado" instead. It must be observed that the course of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is indicated on this Cabot map as flowing directly south from latitude 37°, *i. e.,* the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio. It is obvious that if this river were the Mississippi, and if it had been explored as far as latitude 37°, the discoverers or explorers in their report to the geographers of the Casa would certainly not have it emptying into such a large bay situated so far to the west. Hence we may conclude that the course of this river existed only in the mind of the mapmaker; and as we shall see, the same conclusion will apply to many maps of the second group.

Before proceeding further it may be well to sum up the data obtained from the analysis of the maps already considered. Ribero, Santa Cruz, Chaves, and Cabot were prominent members of the geographical department of the Casa; they all had access to the *Padrón General* and all drew their maps according to it, as they were bound to do under penalty of fine and even of loss of office. A comparative study of the section of the Gulf Coast under consideration shows that after 1529 very little change is found in the nomenclature from Apalachee Bay to Tampico, and no change at all in the position of the bay into which the Rio del Espíritu Santo empties; and the mouth of the river is always shown at the western end of the bay. These features, it must also be noted, appear on all maps after 1529, that is, after the ordinance of Charles V which ordered the revision of the padrón. Hence the conclusion that from this time until 1544 there were no explorations of the Gulf Coast from Tampico to Apalachee Bay; or if there were, the reports of the pilots were not handed to the Casa. No matter which of these alternatives is chosen, it makes no difference concerning the question whether the Rio del Espíritu Santo was the Mississippi.

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[37] At the latitude of the bay, one degree of longitude measures 15,155 leagues; and there are eleven degrees between the entrance of the bay and the west coast of the Floridan peninsula.

[38] *Islario General de Todas las Islas del Mundo . . .,* A. Blázquez, ed., 2 volumes, Madrid, 1918.

[39] A photostat of the whole map has been issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1929. The map had been reproduced in facsimile by E. F. Jomard, *Les monuments de la géographie,* Paris, 1842-1862, nos. 64-71. Kretschmer, Taf. XVI, says that his reproduction is "nach Jomard," but it lacks the meridians and the parallels; a few errors of transcription were noted. Kretschmer's drawing is reproduced in G. P. Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542,* between pp. 352-353.

There are of course differences of detail in the numerous maps of the Gulf which have come down to us, but all that can be concluded from such differences is that the mapmakers of the Casa allowed themselves some latitude in copying the padrón. While careful to include all that would be useful to pilots, they did not draw all the maps exactly alike. It is quite certain that some lost maps of the technicians of Seville based on the padrón, though in substantial agreement with those which have come down to us, contained place-names not found on their extant maps.

This deduction is legitimate in view of the following facts. In 1541, that is, five years after Chaves' map and three years before the date inscribed on the Cabot map, Nicolas Desliens made, at Dieppe, a map of the world.[40] On it all the geographical names from Pánuco to the Mar pequeña are found as they appear on the early extant maps of the cartographers of the Casa which were analyzed in the preceding pages. Desliens' limited knowledge of Spanish enabled him to translate some names into French; Rio de Pescadores, for instance, becomes "R des pescheurs"; Rio del Espíritu Santo is put down as "R. du S. esprit." Other names are Frenchified rather than translated, such as "C. brave" for C. Bravo; and there are mistakes of transcription such as "Montas de Salvador" instead of "Matas de Salvador." Next to the "Mar pequeña" there is a legend "C. Romo" not found on the earlier Spanish maps which have come down to us; and farther to the east, next to the "Coste de fleurs," the Rio de Flores of the Spanish maps, is the inscription "R. des angelz." Now these legends, "C. Romo" and "R. de los Angeles" appear on later maps made by Santa Cruz and Gutierres, two of the cosmographers of the Casa de la Contratación. Hence we conclude that there were maps, now lost, based on the padrón as it appeared after 1536 which contained these names and which somehow reached Desliens. It cannot be seriously maintained that the Spaniards copied these names from the Desliens map, because from 1527 on, the cosmographers of the Casa were ordered to modify the padrón only after having studied the reports of the pilots. The proof that Desliens is the copyist in this case rests on the fact that "C. Romo" is a descriptive name which he was unable to translate, just as he was unable to translate other descriptive names of the model.

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[40] Facsimile reproduction of the Western Hemisphere in Hantzsch and Schmidt, *Kartographische Denkmäler,* Taf. II; in *Atlas brésilien,* no. 5. The editors of the latter noted: "Nicolas Desliens, 1543 ou 1544 (quoique datée de 1541)"; the author of the map wrote of it "Faicte a Dieppe par Nicolas Desliens 1541."

Another indication that there were other maps made by the geographers of the Casa which differed in a few details from those extant today, and which were copied by non-Spanish mapmakers is to be derived from a consideration of the Desceliers map of 1550.[41] The model which he copied differed little from that used by Desliens. It further appears that both these models were compilations from other maps, in so far as they reproduce the geographical and descriptive names found on extant maps of the cosmographers of the Casa. In the Desceliers map, just before the "B. de mirguelo," *i. e.,* Miruelo—which appears for the time on the Chaves map of 1536—is found the legend "p° chico"; now this legend is not found on any extant map made by the geographers of the Casa until the so-called De Soto map.[42]

There do not seem to be any extant Portuguese copies of Spanish maps showing the Gulf of Mexico before 1550, although some were certainly made in Portugal before this date. Thus it is believed that the so-called Henry II map[43] and the Harleian[44] is made after a Portuguese version of a Spanish map. The place-names from the Rio Pánuco to the Florida Keys are all found on Spanish maps, except three names on the west coast of Florida, just north of the Bahía de Juan Ponce: "C. escondido," "Rio Verde," and "Ascension." What led the Portuguese cartographers to insert these names, or what sources they had, is not ascertainable. It may be that outside of Spain mapmakers were freer, for in other countries there was no government control similar to that exercised by the officials of the hydrographic service of the Casa de la Contratación.

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[41] [World map], "Faite a Arques Par Pierre Desceliers PBre: Lan 1550." British Museum, Add. Mss. 24065, reproduced in C. H. Coote, *Autotype facsimiles of Three Mappemondes, . . . C. The mappemonde of Desceliers of 1550,* [Aberdeen], privately printed, 1898. Cf. A. Anthiaume, *Cartes marines, Constructions navales, Voyages de Découvertes chez les Normands, 1500-1650,* 2 volumes, Paris, 1916, I, 88-93.

[42] Cf. *infra.* What is said about the Desliens' and the Desceliers' maps is also true of "The Sey of the Indis of Occident" [Gulf of Mexico] by John Rotz, in his *Boke of Idrography,* British Museum, Old Royal Library, Ms. 20, E. IX, actual size photostat in the Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. John Rotz, Jean Roze, a fellow townsman of Desliens and Desceliers, was the son of a Scot émigré, Ross. Still another Dieppois, Nicolas Vallard, composed an atlas in 1547; the original is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, photostat in the Ayer Collection. The map of "la neuue espaigne" is a compilation as those of his Dieppe contemporaries. On Rotz and Vallard, cf. Anthiaume, *Cartes marines,* I, 61-75, 93-96.

Since all the maps of the first group were ultimately copies of Spanish prototypes which were based on the *Padrón General* in Seville, the nomenclature along the Gulf Coast is substantially the same on all of them, and on all these maps, the Rio del Espíritu Santo is shown emptying into a large bay located at the western end of the Gulf. Hence there is no necessity of recording here the results of our study of the numerous maps belonging to this group which were drawn or printed during the century and a half from 1520 to 1670.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

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(To be continued)

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[43] [Mappemonde peinte sur parchemin par ordre de Henri II roi de France], facsimile in colors, in Jomard, *Les monuments de la géographie,* nos. 23-24; a part of it is reproduced in Kretschmer, Taf. XVII. The original was acquired by the Earl of Crawford, and was reproduced by Coote in his *Autotype facsimiles, B.* The map is dated and signed: "Faictes à Arques par Pierre Desceliers, presb^{re} 1546." Anthiaume, *Cartes marines,* I, 86, writes as follows: "Pour expliquer la source des connaissances portuguaises et espagnoles utilisées dans la construction de leurs planisphères par Desceliers et d'autres cartographes dieppois, on a prétendu qu'en 1542 dom Miguel de Sylva, évêque de Viseu [Cf. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* II, 227], ayant été banni du Portugal, sa patrie, et qu'en venant en France, il emportait avec lui des cartes et des mappemondes qu'il livra aux Dieppois. Mais cette hypothèse est invraisemblable, ou tout au moins elle est insuffisante pour expliquer la science des Dieppois." The spelling of place-names which clearly indicates that the models used by the Dieppe cartographers were Portuguese versions of Spanish prototypes seems to have escaped Anthiaume. How valuable manuscripts—and undoubtedly maps also—passed from one country to another is illustrated in *Codex Mendoza,* J. C. Clark, ed., 3 volumes, London, 1938, I, Introduction, 1-12. The ship carrying this manuscript to Spain was captured by the French, the *Codex* was acquired by André Thevet, from whom Hakluyt bought it.

[44] [The Dieppe or Harleian World Map.] The original in the British Museum, Add. Mss. 5413, is reproduced in Coote's *Autotype facsimiles, A;* the photograph in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ge. DD 738 is taken from it. The map is dated "*circa* 1536" by Coote, it should be "after 1542," cf. Anthiaume, *Cartes marines,* I, 75-78.

DOCUMENTS

The Authorship of the Journal of Jean Cavelier

Five years ago the present writer published in French and in translation a manuscript in the handwriting of Lahontan purporting to be a copy of the journal of Jean Cavelier, the brother of La Salle. (*The Journal of Jean Cavelier, the Account of a Survivor of La Salle's Texas Expedition, 1684-1688,* Chicago, 1938.) At that time I took for granted the authenticity of the original. Since then, however, several documents have come to my knowledge which, taken together, make me doubt whether Cavelier is really the author of the journal attributed to him.

The comparison then made between the two versions of this journal (the incomplete text published by Shea in 1858 and the complete text which I published), and the account in Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France,* 2 volumes, Paris, 1691, attributed by the editor of the latter work to Father Anastasius, clearly shows that these three narratives are variants of one prototype.

One of the several documents above referred to is here printed in full. In it Cavelier is criticizing certain statements found in Le Clercq, to whose authority La Forest had apparently appealed to support certain claims of his. On the basis of this document the following argument seems legitimate. If today we recognize the dependence of the Le Clercq account on a journal attributed to Cavelier, it is unlikely that Cavelier himself would have failed to recognize this dependence; and it is still more unlikely that, after recognizing Le Clercq's dependence on his own journal, he would have criticized an account that was in effect his own story.

The above conclusion, that Jean Cavelier is not the author of the journal attributed to him, is seemingly confirmed by several passages in the papers of Claude Delisle. In notes jotted down between 1700 and 1703, the geographer wrote as follows:

> In the past, I asked M. Cavelier for details about the Mississippi River, and about the tribes dwelling in its vicinity. He had very little to say. The late M. Baudrand [died at Paris, April 26, 1700] curé of St. Sulpice, also communicated to me a few memoranda containing remarks which he had heard from M. Cavelier; but before I had time to

read them he sent for these memoranda, having received a letter from M. Cavelier begging him not to communicate them to others. At that time, he [Cavelier] had reasons for acting in this manner, but now that that story has become public property, there is no reason why the information should be withheld. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits français, 9710:120v.)

Claude Delisle spoke to Cavelier himself during one or both the years when the abbé visited Paris, *i. e.,* 1689 and 1698. (Bib. Nat., Mss. fr., nouvelles acquisitions, 9290:309, and Archives du Service Hydrographique, 115-10:n. 17 B and M.) Hence if there had been a journal written by him at this time, it seems improbable that Delisle would not have known about it. As can be seen from the two extant versions of the "journal" we mentioned above, there were accounts circulating in Paris, one of which, if we are to believe Lahontan, even reached Canada. That Claude Delisle had an account based on the memoirs of Cavelier is seen from the following. In the list of manuscript and printed sources which Delisle used to draw the map of 1703, published under the name of his son, there is this entry: "Relations faites Par N. sur les memoires de M. Cavelier, frere de M. de la Salle et qui l'avoit accompagné dans ce voyage." (Arch. Serv. Hydrog., 115-10:n. 17 M.) Hence the question arises: May not the above-mentioned versions of the so-called Journal of Cavelier be merely variants of these "Relations written by N." here spoken of by Delisle?

The document which we reproduce in full was published in part by Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, III, 548, 550. The sections thus published are here enclosed in brackets. In the table at the end of this volume, Margry says that the document was found among the papers of the descendants of La Salle's family and was communicated to him by Madame de Montruffet. The draft, in the hand of Jean Cavelier, is—or was—in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits français, nouvelles acquisitions [Margry Collection], 9293:104-105v. The words italicized in parentheses are deleted in the original.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

[le frere de monsieur de la salle trouva au fort saint loüis environ quarante mille livres de pelleterie, il ne faut pas s'etonner s'il ne se dessaisit pas *(avant)* du billet, dont il êtoit porteur, avant qu'on luy eût livré ce qui y êtoit contenu, ce qui fust executé le 21^{e} mars 1688. *(mais)* monsieur de Tonti *(arriva)* êtant arrivé au fort de saint loüis,

le dît frère de monsieur de la salle *(luy declara)* declara au dit sieur de Tonti, qu'il avoit ordre de luy demander ce qui êtoit necessaire pour *(passer en france)* fournir au frais *(de son voyage et de ceux qui êtoient avec luy)* du voyage que son frere avoit desire quil *(fist)* fit en France, et de ceux qui êtoient avec luy, et pour les autres choses contenues dans le dit ordre.

ensuite *(il luy)* le dit sieur prestre proposa au sieur de Tonti plusieurs fois, et en differens tems de voir ce qui l'accomoderoit mieux, ou de fournir en castor les sões ordonnées, ou de donner des permissions *(a beaucoup de francois qui êtoient)* de venir trafiquer avec les sauvages demeurant proche du fort s loüis, a des françois de Canada, qui êtoient en assés grand nombre, qui avoient acheté des permissions des dits sieurs de Tonti, et de la forest de faire ce commerce avec les dits sauvages.]

Ces francois auroient été ravis de me me fournir en castor ce que je demandois en leur accordant les dites permissions le provenu de ces permissions appartenoit a monsieur de la salle, [monsieur de Tonti aima mieux me donner du castor, me disant qu'il appartenoit a monsieur de la salle,] est-il vraisemblable, que sil dut appartenir a M. de la forest.

Il n'est point vrai que

Le pere chretien le clerc ne dit point qu'on n'ait point campé de puis le 7^e^ janvier, son silence ne prouve nullement que le neuviême du même mois, nous n'ayons point campé proche la Baye de saint loüis, par ce que nous appelions camper, quand nous nous arrestions en quelque lieu, nous ne fîmes quenviron une lieüe le jour de nôtre depart, le huitiême entier nous demeurâmes au même lieu Jusques vers le midi du neuviême du dit mois de Janvier pour nous mettre en êtat de marcher, tout ce que dit le pere le clerc n'est pas un article de foy puisqu'il n'êtoit pas du voyage.

il n'y avoit que trois peres recollets au voyage de monsieur de la salle, un s'appeloit le pere Zenobe, l'autre s'appelloit le pere maxime, *(j'ay oublié le nom)* ces deux sont restéz, aucun d'eux n'a pu *(ecrire composer)* écrire l'histoire Intitulée l'etablissement de la foy, puisqu'il y a bien de l'apparence, qu'ils ont peri; car il y a 22 années qu'on n'a point entendu parler deux, le troisieme est le pere Anastase Doué qui est revenu avec moy, il est donc clair comme le jour que le pere chrestien le clerc n'a point ete temoin oculaire des evenemens du voyage de monsieur de la salle, comme il le dit, partant son histoire est peu veritable.

[rien de moins vrai, ce qu'on luy fait dire, c'est a scavoir que le sieur de la salle êtoit parti de la Baye de St. loüis pour se rendre en canada, *(il ne pouvoit pas)* il avoit seulement resolu d'accompagner son frere Jusques au fleuve Mississipi, et l'ayant trouvé, s'en retourner a son poste, et son frere devoit remonter le fleuve Mississipi pour passer en France.]

Il fait tüer monsieur de la salle par quatre de ses gens, ils etoient sept. il dit que monsieur de la salle fût assassiné apres avoir fait cent trente lieues sur la riviere, ce fût au milieu des terres qu'il fût assassiné, dans un lieu tres êloigné de la riviere qu'il cherchoit, car on le tua le 19^e^ de Mars 1687, et nous n'arrivâmes a la dite riviere que vers le 20^e^ de Juillet en suivant, je ne me souviens pas precisement du jour, quatre circonstances contraires a la verité dans un seul article, il paroist que ce pere n'a ecrit que sur ces raports qui n'etoient pas veritables, ou que sa memoire luy a ete Infidelle.

Monsieur de la forest ne commandoit point au fort saint loüis, c'estoit monsieur de Tonti qui en êtoit gouverneur le Roy avoit donné pouvoir a monsieur de la salle de faire construire des forts, ou il jugeroit a propos et d'y êtablir des gouverneurs il avoit fait monsieur de Tonti gouverneur de celuy des Ilinois.

le sieur de la forest ne pouvoit pas donner a un autre le commandement qu'il n'avoit pas, il dit que Monsieur de Tonti êtoit son associé, les effets donc qui êtoient au fort de saint loüis n'êtoient pas moins a luy, qu'au sieur de la forest.

les effets qui etoient dans le fort de saint loüis n'etoient point des effets appartenants a monsieur de la forest, mais en partie a monsieur de la salle pour les profits provenants du commerce fait avec les sauvages, et des congéz donnéz au nom de monsieur de la salle, aux habitants de Canada et permissions de venir trafiquer au dit fort, il faudra expliquer ce ce [*sic*] que c'est que ces congéz, et permissions, Et en partie pour le payement des marchandises apportées de Canada et autres frais. le dit sieur de Tonti ayant des appointemens *(reglez par le dit sieur)* pour son gouvernement *(les sieurs de la forest et)* le sieur de Boisrondet des gages regléz par le dit sieur de la salle, en qualité de commis pour le commerce. je ne scay point en quelle qualité monsieur de la forest etoit au service de monsieur de la salle, depuis 1684. Jusqu'a son arrivee aux Ilinois, je scai qu'il avoit été longtems son commis en Canada. en 1682, le Roy ayant donné pouvoir a monsieur de la salle de disposer selong qu'il le jugeroit a propos des charges de capitaine et de lieutenent des troupes, qu'il luy accorda, et de choisir des personnes selong son gré, il donna gratuitement au sieur de la forest une charge de capitaine, dont le dit sieur de la forest recut les appointemens, expliquer cela.

Book Reviews

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1941-1942. By Antoine Roy. Quebec, 1942. Pp xv, 515.

This report contains little of direct interest to the student of the early history of the Great Lakes region and of the Mississippi Valley. It begins with the census of Montreal taken by M. Louis Normand in 1731, acting on orders of M. Charles-Maurice Le Pelletier, superior of the Sulpicians at Paris. These priests, as is well known, were the seigneurs of the Island of Montreal. The archivist has added to the census a plan of Montreal by Chaussegros de Léry dated August 10, 1717. This early census was published to make better known the history of the Canadian metropolis on the occasion of the third centenary of its foundation.

The second part of the report consists of the third installment of the later Abbé Caron's inventory of the documentation relative to the Church in Canada, from 1718 to the end of 1729. (Cf. MID-AMERICA, XXIII (October 1941), 307-308, and XXIV (October 1942), 291.) At the end of this installment are found two pages which contain a partial list of documents concerning the Capuchins and the Jesuits in Louisiana. We might observe that the name of the third bishop of Quebec was not Louis-François Duplessis de Mornay; the Duplessis de Mornay were a Huguenot family. (Cf. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* IX, 1903, 375, and X, 1904, 20 ff.) This bishop signed his letters Louis-François de Mornay, as we see from the letter of May 30, 1730, the last one listed by Caron. (See also *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1921-1922,* p. 80, and the label on his portrait in A-Léo Leymarie, Exposition rétrospective des Colonies françaises de l'Amérique du Nord, *Catalogue Illustré,* Paris, 1929, pl. 66.)

"A Journey from Restigouche to Quebec in 1824" makes up the third part of the report. The manuscript printed here forms the latter part of the private journal of a visit to the Gaspé Coast made by Dr. G.-J. Mountain, archdeacon of Lower Canada and rector of the Anglican parish of Quebec erected in 1821. The first portion of this journal is missing. The editor, Canon A. R. Kelley, says that it was "evidently addressed to his wife," and that it described the trip down the St. Lawrence to Gaspé. The other manuscript published in this part of the report deals with Dr. Mountain's visitation of the Gaspé Coast in 1826. This journal, of which the earlier and latter parts are missing, is also thought by the editor to have been addressed to Mrs. Mountain.

The fourth part of the report contains the first installment of the inventory of the correspondence of Mgr. J.-J. Lartigue, first bishop of

Montreal. Students of Canadian church history during the nineteenth century will find here the answers to the letters of the bishops of Quebec which were published in previous reports.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

Inventaire de Pièces sur la côte de Labrador conservees aux Archives de la Province de Quebec. By Pierre-Georges Roy. Volume I, Quebec, 1940. Pp. 302; Volume II, Quebec, 1942. Pp. 300.

Not a few documents printed in these two volumes are of peculiar interest to the student of the early history of the Middle United States, in so far as they deal with the discoverer of the Mississippi River. It is well known that after 1677, when Louis Jolliet was refused a concession in the Illinois country which he had discovered four years previously, he directed his energies to the exploitation of the resources of the Lower St. Lawrence. In 1679, he and his wife's stepfather were granted the concession of the Mingan Islands, and then in 1680, as a reward for his voyage of exploration to Hudson Bay, he obtained in fief the Island of Anticosti. The documents published by M. Roy solve one of the difficulties confronting those who deal with this phase of Jolliet's career, for they give an explanation of the complaints and lawsuits brought against him by one Josias Boisseau.

There is another difficulty connected with Jolliet, a difficulty much more baffling than the one previously referred to: the date and place of the explorer's death. At the end of his book, Ernest Gagnon rightly speaks of "the mystery which shrouds the end of Jolliet's life." After all, Jolliet was no ordinary adventurer. As late as 1695, Frontenac recalled in one of his letters that he it was who discovered the Mississippi; he was seignior of the most prominently situated concession in Canada, Anticosti Island, which every ship coming or going to France had to pass; he held an official position in Quebec, and during the last years of his life his name constantly occurred in the official correspondence. One day this man leaves Quebec, dies and is buried somewhere on the banks of the Lower St. Lawrence, in circumstances unknown to us, but hardly unknown to his wife, to the colonial officials and to the people of Quebec. Yet no one ever referred to the date of his death, or to the place or circumstances in which he died. Beginning with the year 1700, whenever his name appears in official documents or private papers, he is spoken of as "the late Louis Jolliet, in life royal hydrographer in this country." The documents published in the first of these two volumes under review, which deal with lawsuits involving his sons, might reasonably have been expected to contain evidence that would narrow the interval, May 4-September 15, 1700, within which Jolliet's death must have occurred, but a careful reading of these documents reveals no such evidence.

Most of these papers concern the Laurentian rather than the Atlantic Labrador, and will prove useful in identifying place-names on the Lower St. Lawrence. The most interesting document in the second volume is the Relation of Louis Fornel, a Quebec merchant, describing his voyage to the "Baie des Eskimaux nommée par les Sauvages Kessessakiou," in 1743. Quite illuminating is the comparison of this Relation with Jolliet's journal of his voyage of 1694, and the manner in which the two travelers dealt with the Indians is particularly worthy of note. The Eskimo of the Labrador Coast were notorious thieves. Fornel writes: "Nos françois qui les ont surpris en flagrant delit ne Leur ont point épargné la bastonade, ni Les coups de poing pour leur faire rendre ce qu'ils avoient volé, jusqu'aux ustensiles de navires qu'ils vouloient emporter." Jolliet's method of retrieving his compass, which had been stolen by a light-fingered Eskimo, was quite different. In his journal he ends the narrative of this episode with these words: "la suitte fut un Ris de tous costez."

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

Voyages to Vinland. The First American Saga, newly translated and interpreted by Einar Haugen, Thompson Professor of Scandinavian Languages, University of Wisconsin. Illustrated by Frederick Trench Chapman. Alfred A. Knopp, New York, 1942. Pp. xiii, 181, vii, map, 20 illus. Earlier limited edition, 1941.

Regarding the voyages of the Norsemen to the coast of America in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, the student of this period of American history may quite naturally ask: Can anything new be said upon the Vinland voyages? The literature on the subject is already extensive; a bibliography covering only significant books and articles in periodicals written between 1546 and 1936, compiled by the present reviewer, includes 589 titles. Professor Haugen's work is designed to interest the general reader while presenting the results of scholarly research; it does not propose original solutions for some of the problems that have confronted competent students for many years.

This new translation of the two Icelandic narratives upon which mainly our knowledge of the Vinland voyages is based, has been made with the intention "of rendering the old sagas as vividly and understandably as possible to modern readers." Many earlier translators adopted an archaic mode of expression in order to preserve a medieval flavor. "The family sagas of Iceland are deeply rooted in the realism of everyday life," says Haugen. "They are plain unadorned tales told by simple folk concerning authentic events in the lives of their ancestors. We who live today can best enter into their world if they are allowed to speak to us in the simple, direct accounts of our own day." In such style of speech the narratives are realistic and readable.

Our knowledge of the Vinland voyages is derived mainly from two narratives contained in three Icelandic manuscripts. One is "The Tale of the Greenlanders," found in the Flatey Book; it is supposed to hand down the story of the family of Eric the Red, especially the adventure of Leif Ericson. The other tradition, written down in its present form in Hauk's Book by a descendant of Thorfinn Karlsevni, transmits the Icelandic version of the Vinland story. The Greenland saga tells of the sighting of unknown shores in the west by one Bjarni Herjulfson. Leif Ericson retraced from Greenland the course of Bjarni, sailing past lands that he named Helluland (Labrador), Markland (part of Labrador or Newfoundland), and wintered in a region that he named Vinland, because wild grapes were found there. The Karlsevni saga omits all mention of Bjarni, making Leif the chance discoverer of the unknown shores upon which he landed and gathered samples of "grapes," "self-sown wheat," and "mosur," which he took to Greenland. A well-to-do Icelander, Thorfinn Karlsevni, married Gudrid who is the heroine of these narratives, and led an expedition, carrying 160 men in three ships, in search of Leif's new lands. He spent a hard winter at "Streamfirth." Failing to find any grapes in the region, he sailed southward to a land-locked bay, "Hop," where his party was attacked by "Skraelings." After some further exploring he abandoned the attempt to make a settlement in so dangerous a country and returned to Iceland. The Greenland saga tells also of three other voyages by members of Eric the Red's family, on one of which Thorvald, a brother of Leif, was killed. The last of these voyages, said to have been made by Freydis, a half-sister of Leif, led to what the author calls, "the foulest and most unmotivated murder spree in all Icelandic literature."

Which of the two narratives, standing often in sharp contrast with each other, is to be taken as the reliable one? Critics since Storm (writing in 1887) have been inclined to accept only the Karlsevni saga and to reject the Greenland saga save when both agree on an event or incident. Professor Haugen, by judicious selection, tries to combine the varying elements into a coherent and reasonably acceptable account of the voyages, letting one version supplement the other where possible; when there is flat contradiction, he lets both stories speak for themselves. He rebukes those critics who "heap lofty sarcasm" upon the weaknesses of the Greenland saga and overlook or minimize the traces of Norse superstition and of confused memories to be seen in the Icelandic account. Mention of the length of the shortest winter day at Vinland and of "self-sown wheat" is, moreover, made only in the despised Greenland narrative, items which all of the critics have deemed of importance in determining the latitude of the newly discovered lands. "When the two versions agree," concludes Professor Haugen, "it is therefore a double confirmation of historical accuracy. When they disagree, it is partly due to a difference in stress and point of view."

Certain identification of the places reached by the Norse voyagers is deemed by the author to be impossible from the data available to us. "As a matter of fact every writer has disregarded something or other in the saga text; if he did not, it would be impossible to identify anything." Yet the number of instances where the descriptions given in the sagas coincide with the realities as we know them, is truly remarkable. What baffles the historian is the fact that in some cases too many localities may be made to fit the tale and in other cases the data are too vague. Directions are not precise, distances are uncertain. The topographic description of Vinland "points unmistakably to the shores of New England," the author holds; but the severe winter experienced by Karlsevni at Streamfirth suggests a region around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The interpretation of the famous passage wherein it is said that "the sun was up between 'eyktarstad' and 'dagmalastad' " is hampered by our uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the Icelandic term "eyktarstad." Did the sun set at a certain time or did it set over one of the day-marks on the horizon by which the Norsemen measured time? Astronomers to whom the question has several times been submitted can answer only as to the parallel of latitude *south* of which the observation must have been made. Reeves (in 1890) was told that the spot could not have been north of the forty-ninth parallel, which crosses the northern portion of the Gaspé Peninsula at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, passes south of Anticosti Island, and touches Bonavista Bay on the east coast of Newfoundland. Gray (1929) was given a point much further south. Professor Haugen is satisfied to say merely: the Norse mariners, without sextant or compass, "were simply trying to express how much longer the day was in this region (Vinland) than at home, for—just imagine!—here the sun was as high in the *dead of winter* as in Iceland at the *beginning* of winter." He bases this new meaning of "eykt" upon a passage in the *Edda* of Snorri Sturluson, in which the sun is said to set at "eyktarstad" (about October 14 in Iceland) at the beginning of winter. The Norsemen were certainly a "goodly distance from home." In any case the cattle are said in the saga to have grazed out of doors all winter. Gray says that they certainly could have done so on Martha's Vineyard.

The book is beautifully printed in Baskerville linotype and was made possible by a group of booklovers and bookmakers in Chicago banded together under the name of "Holiday Press." A two-color map and twenty illustrations give it a popular appeal. The most important previous works on the Vinland voyages are listed in the notes.

William Stetson Merrill

Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

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El Rio Del Espiritu Santo

III

(Continued from July)

To the second group of maps belong those which show the course of the Rio del Espíritu Santo long before there was any knowledge of it, if this river is the Mississippi. Thus on the already mentioned Cortés map, one of two large rivers flowing due south is called Rio del Espíritu Santo, and three small rivers form the headwaters of the longer one a hundred leagues from a twenty-league bay into which both large streams empty. It is manifest that this map, merely because it shows the course of these rivers, cannot be adduced as evidence that the Rio del Espíritu Santo is the Mississippi. Obviously, the fact that the course of a river appears on a map does not prove that the river represented was actually explored. In the first place, we know that early mapmakers, except for such official cartographers as those of the Casa de la Contratación, had many reasons for drawing the full course of rivers, though the models which they were copying represented only the mouth. A drawing of the entire course, however fanciful, would call attention to the hydrography of a given region much more emphatically than would a mere legend inserted near an indentation in the shore line. It would make the map "look better," and would even convey the suggestion that the map embodied the results of the latest discoveries. In fact, the titles of early maps sometimes make this suggestion explicitly to interest prospective buyers. Thus one of Allard's maps issued at the end of the seventeenth century is entitled: *Recentissima Novi Orbis sive Americae . . . Tabula,* although this "most recent" map is simply a reprint of another fifty years old. Moreover, if the appearance of a river's course on a map is taken as evidence that the river has been explored, we shall have to say that both the 500-mile rivers drawn on the Cortés map had been actually traversed by explorers from mouth to source by 1523. Finally, those who maintain that the shorter of these rivers, legended Rio del Espíritu Santo, is intended to represent the Mississippi have to face the problems of identifying the second and longer river. We have already remarked that the professional geographers of the Casa were not misled by such fanciful representations. It may be noted in passing, however, that explorers were seriously led astray by relying on these maps in their journeys.

The portion of the Gulf shown on the Turin map[1] is a variant of that same portion on the Cortés map. The course of the Rio del Espíritu Santo as well as that of the longer river west of it is exactly the same on both. The place-names and their position on these two early maps of the Gulf differ as follows:

Cortés	Turin
Provincia amichel	[princia amichel]
[Tamacho pruvia]	tamacho princia
Rio panuco	Rio panuco
laoton	laotom
Tamacho pruvia	[tamacho princia]
[Provincia amichel]	Princia amichel
	rio de mõtañas altas
R. la palma	rio de la palma
R. de Arboledas	
pº de arrecifos	pº de arrecife
Rio del Spiritu Sancto	rio del espiritu santo

Whereas on the Cortés map the coast line runs in an uninterrupted arc from the Rio del Espíritu Santo to the southernmost eastern tip of the Florida peninsula, on the Turin map the coast line stops east of the river, and after a gap of 175 leagues comes the "Isla Florida." Only three sides of this "island" are shown, and the position of its south shore is six degrees too far north.

The nomenclature of the Gulf Coast on the Paris Gilt Globe[2] is partly similar to that on the Cortés map, with the addition of latitudes and longitudes. The northern coast line is above the fortieth parallel, and the mouth of the "R. de S. Spiritu" is shown emptying into a bay at latitude 42°, the latitude of Chicago. Instead of being at the western end of the Gulf, this bay is located next to the Florida peninsula, where present-day Apalachee Bay is situated. The Rio Pánuco is represented as a huge stream flowing eastward. The Tamacho Provincia is on the northern bank of this river, as it is on the Cortés map; on the south bank, ten degrees from the Gulf Coast, we find Cathay (China). This globe expresses the conception of its maker rather than the actual geography of the Gulf, and is quite useless as far as the identification of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is concerned.

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[1] Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating,* no. 6; facsimile in color in *Atlas brésilien,* no. 2.

[2] Nova et integra universi orbs [sic] descriptio, in G. Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVIᵉ au XVIIᵉ siècle, avec le texte explicatif,* Paris, 1892, *Atlas,* pl. 21. The changes on the "facsimile" in the *Discovery of North America,* 562, are inexcusable.

The double-cordiform globe of Finaeus belongs to the same category.[3] As on the Paris Gilt Globe, America is joined to Asia forming a single continent. The nomenclature is that of the Cortés map. The bay into which the "R. de S. Spu" empties has its entrance above latitude 40°, and is situated, as on the Paris Globe. The river is drawn north-south for ten degrees, beginning from James Bay; there the river forks, and the headwaters of the two branches, about five degrees north of the latitude of present-day James Bay, are four hundred miles apart.

The geography of the Gulf on this map is another example of the manner in which even professional geographers, like Finaeus[4] relied on their own idea rather than on data supplied by accounts of voyages. Even if the latitudes were all lowered by ten degrees, and if the coast line were thus brought near its true position, the portion of the river represented would extend as far north as Chicago, and it is certain that no exploration of any river emptying into the Gulf of Mexico had been extended so far at this time.

The dozen place-names along the Gulf Coast on the Ulpius Globe[5] are taken from maps based on those of the cosmographers of the Casa de la Contratación. The course of the "R. de S. Spu" extends over about five degrees, with its mouth at the northwest end of a bay situated in the northwest corner of the Gulf. A second stream of equal length empties into the same bay at its northeast end, and is called "R. Gvadalqvibir." The earliest dated map on which this latter name appears is that of Mercator of 1541. The course of a great river which empties into the same bay at the same point is shown on the Vopellio map in Girava,[6] but no name is given to this river.

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[3] Nova, et Integra Universi Orbis Descriptio, in N. A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the early History of Cartography,* Stockholm, 1889, pl. XLI; a part of this globe reduced to Mercator's projection is in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* III, 11. In 1538, Mercator copied Finaeus' globe, cf. Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.,* 90, and pl. XLIII, photographic reproduction in *Revista de Indias,* Año II, 1941, no. 4, between pp. 100-101.

[4] Cf. L. Gallois, *De Orontio Finaeo Gallico Geographo,* Paris, 1890.

[5] Reproduced in Winship, *The Coronado Expedition,* facing p. 349.

An undated Agnese map also belongs to this group.[7] The early Spanish maps which he had previously copied contain only the names and mouths of various rivers. On this one, besides using the nomenclature of these maps, Agnese represented some of these rivers as arising in the foothills of a huge mountain range which runs in an immense arc from a point in the east between latitudes 35° and 40° toward the southwest and then south past Mexico City, from which point it runs in a southeasterly direction as far as the Bay of Campeche. One of these rivers is the Rio del Espíritu Santo, which is represented as flowing due south for 400 Italian miles, almost six degrees of latitude, until it empties into a bay called "B. del Spirito S^{to} della Colata." The mistaken name given to this bay has already been discussed.

This Agnese map, by the way, serves to illustrate the point which we have already noted; namely, that the appearance of the course of a large river marked Rio del Espíritu Santo on a map is no proof that this river is identical with the Mississippi. For although the Mississippi is admittedly the largest river that empties into the Gulf, the Rio del Espíritu Santo as drawn by Agnese is no larger than the four others which he represents as emptying into the Gulf along its northern coast line.

Notwithstanding its artistic merits, the map attributed to Jacopo Gastaldi and first published in Venice in 1554,[8] cannot be taken as a reliable representation of the nomenclature of the Gulf Coast nor of the hydrography of the interior. The river which occupies the position of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is left nameless and the bay into which it empties is called "Baia de todos Sanctos." The "R. de Canoas" which is located near the western end of the Florida peninsula on the early Spanish maps is here shown as a large river, much longer than the Rio del Espíritu Santo, ending in Apalachee Bay.

The source of the nomenclature of the interior on the map engraved at Amsterdam in 1562 by Jerome Cock is discussed below, as are also the distortions which place-names underwent.[9] The hydrography is open to the same criticisms as is that of the maps previously described. The course of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is drawn, but other rivers east of it are also drawn, the longest of which empties west of Apalachee Bay, while the second longest has its mouth east of this bay and is called "R. de Juan Ponce." This latter name is evidently borrowed from a bay near the lower west end of the Florida peninsula, and no river of the same name appears on any map prior to this date. The arbitrariness of the engraver is all the more noticeable because he keeps the "B^a de Juã ponce" in its traditional place between the 26th and the 27th parallel.

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[6] Typo de la Carta Cosmographica de Gaspar Vopellio Medeburgense, in Hieronymo Girava, *Dos Libros de Cosmographia,* Milan, 1556; reproduced in Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas,* pl. XLV.

[7] Title and references *supra,* 192, note 3.

[8] Reproduced by F. Muller and Co., eds., in *Remarkable Maps of the XVth, XVIth & XVIIth Centuries reproduced in their original size,* 6 parts in 4 volumes, Amsterdam, 1894-1897, I, pl. 1-4; also in *Atlas brésilien,* no. 10a. The question of authorship is discussed by Nordenskiöld, *Periplus,* 146-147. H. R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800,* 2 volumes, paged continuously, Berkeley, California, 1937, 279, lists it under Tramezini, the name of the printer.

The Italian maps published between 1560 and 1570, as for instance those engraved by Berteli[10] and by Zaltieri,[11] are simply artistic fantasies. Zaltieri's map, for all that pertains to the nomenclature of the Gulf Coast and the hydrography of the region north of it is a cartographical freak. None of these maps contains any reliable information whatever, and one cannot help wondering what model the draughtsman had before him when he was delineating the Gulf, and what was the purpose of issuing such bizarre productions.

The maps of the Portuguese cartographer, Fernão Vaz Dourado,[12] insofar as the nomenclature of the Gulf of Mexico is concerned, are all based on variants of the Spanish padrón. On the earliest of these maps,[13] the "Rio do espirito Samto" disembogues in a bay at latitude 30°; there is a fork in the river three and a half degrees farther north, the two branches of which extend to latitude 37°, the top of the map. On another of his maps,[14] the same feature reappears: one branch comes directly from the north, the other from the west-northwest. The latter branch flows out of a large lake into which empty seven rivers. At about latitude 37°, the north branch receives a tributary coming from the east. Another large but unnamed river coming from the northeast also ends in this bay. This map also shows the course of other rivers which empty into the Gulf, though only their mouths are indicated on Vaz Dourado's previous maps. His map of 1571,[15] with its network of rivers, tributaries, and subtributaries, looks more like an arabesque than like an actual map. The fact that on two subsequent maps[16] Vaz Dourado did not draw the course of the rivers at all may be taken as an indication of the importance which he himself attached to the hydrography of the earlier ones.

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[9] Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio; *Atlas brésilien,* no. 8. The map is dedicated to Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma, the regent of The Netherlands from 1559 to 1567.

[10] One dated *circa* 1560, has no title and is reproduced in *Remarkable Maps,* I, pl. 10; the other is entitled: Universale Descrittione di tutta la Terra Conosciuta fin qui . . . Paulo Veronese fecit. Ferando berteli Exc 1565, *ibid.,* IV, pl. 3.

[11] Original in the E. Ayer Collection, reproduced in Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas,* 129, and in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* II, 451.

[12] On this mapmaker, cf. Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses,* II, 7-28.

[13] Univercalis et Imtegra Totius Orbis. Hidrographia Adversisimam [sic] Lvzitanorum. Traditionem. Descriptio. Ferdinand Waz Dovrado. In Cevitate Goa. 1568. This atlas, in the Library of the Duke of Alva, Palacio de Liria, Madrid, is described by Cortesão, *op. cit.,* II, 28-41; the map of the Gulf of Mexico is the ninth, and is reproduced in color in *Atlas brésilien,* second memoir, no. 3. A photograph of the original is in the Karpinski Collection.

Mercator's map of 1569 also belongs to this second group.[17] Because this planisphere is the first example of his famous projection, it is a landmark in the history of cartography; but, as we shall see, the contribution which it made to a knowledge of the geography of the southern United States is negligible.

An opposite view is expressed by Winsor, according to whom

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[14] The atlas, in which the map of the Gulf of Mexico is the second, is described by Cortesão, *op. cit.,* II, 68-77, and is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, reproduced in color in *Atlas brésilien,* no. 18a; photograph of the original in the Karpinski Collection.

[15] On the restored title of this atlas, cf. Cortesão, *op. cit.,* II, 41-54. The map of the Gulf is reproduced in color in *Atlas brésilien,* no. 22a, a black and white photograph of it in Cortesão, pl. XLII; partial reproduction of the original in the Karpinski Collection.

[16] Universalis et Integra Totius Orbis Hidrografia. Ad Verissimam. Lvzitanorvm. Tradicionem Descripcio. Ferdinãdo Vaz. Este livro. Fes. Fernão Vãz Dovrado, British Museum, Add. Mss. 31317, actual size photostat in the Ayer Collection, described in Cortesão, *op. cit.,* II, 64-68. The Gulf of Mexico is the third map of the atlas; the title is written in a band around the map: "Nesta lamina esta lamcado todas as Amtilhas de Castela e nova Espanha ate a Florida"; reproduced in color in *Atlas brésilien,* second memoir, no. 4.—The other map of the Gulf by Vaz Dourado is in an atlas of 1580 preserved in Munich, reproduced in F. Kunstmann, K. von Spruner, and G. M. Thomas, eds., *Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Amerikas,* Munich, 1859, Bl. X, and in *Atlas brésilien,* no. 26b. In his description of this atlas, Cortesão, *op. cit.,* II, 58, pertinently remarks: "Embora todos os seus trabalhos obedeçam a un tipo inconfudível, parece que Vaz Dourado tinha un Atlas protótipo, cuja parte meremente cartográfica foi aproveitando pera todos os outros, mas acrescentando-os e modificando-os conforme os novos conhecimentos geográficos adquiridos ou o fim a que os destinava."

[17] Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum navigantium emendaté accomodata, in *Drei Karten von Gerhard Mercator. Europa—Britische Inseln—Weltkarte.* Facsimile-Lichtdruck nach den originalen der Stadbibliothek zu Breslau. Hergestellt von der Reichsdruckerei. Herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, London, Berlin, Paris, 1891, 3 parts in 1 volume; Bl. 8 of the Weltkarte, third part, has the Gulf of Mexico; partial reproduction of this sheet in Winship, *The Coronado Expedition,* between pp. 376-377.

Mercator "was the first to map out a great interior valley to the continent, separated from the Atlantic slope by a mountainous range that could well stand for the Alleghanies. Dr. Kohl suggests that Mercator might have surmised this eastern watershed of the great continent by studying the report of De Soto in his passage to the Mississippi. . . ."[18] As a matter of fact the geographical feature mentioned by Winsor did not originate with Mercator. It is found on the maps of Cock and Zaltieri already mentioned; all that Mercator did was to delineate the mountain range more sharply than his predecessors. This mountain range may be intended to represent the Alleghanies, but it should be noted that the geographer shows it coming from the north and turning first west at the 35th parallel of latitude, along which it runs for twenty-five degrees, then due south to latitude 28°; where it turns at a right angle to the east, sloping toward the Tropic of Cancer and ending at longitude 269°. The Southern United States is therefore represented as an immense amphitheater completely shut off from the St. Lawrence basin by this range of mountains, so that the only approach of it by land is from Mexico. This conception was taken over by subsequent mapmakers, and its influence is manifest among theoretical geographers and even among actual explorers of this region for more than a century after the publication of Mercator's map.

In view of Mercator's dependence on Cock, which is especially noticeable in his use of identical nomenclature, the position of Winsor and Kohl is untenable. The only report of the De Soto expedition which Mercator could have known is the book of the Gentleman of Elvas, which had been in print twelve years at the time when the 1569 map was published. The source utilized by Mercator, however, was not this Portuguese narrative, but the map of Cock, as can be seen from the following table. The words italicized are clearly indicated on both maps as being names of towns,[19] the names in roman are those of provinces or regions.

Cock 1562	Mercator 1569
Mocosa	Mocosa
Avacal	Auacal
Canagali	*Canagali*
Coruco	*Coruco*

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[18] J. Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac. Geographical Discovery in the Interior of North America in its Historical Relations 1534-1700,* Boston and New York, 1894, 66.

[19] The names of the four towns are also on Zaltieri's map previously mentioned.

Apalchen	Apalchen
Otagil	Tagil
Tierra Florida	La Florida
Iguas	*Iguas*
Calicuaz	Calicuaz
Comos	*Comos*
Cossa	Cossa
Capaschi	Capaschi
Monte Suala	

Such a perfect parallelism can hardly be a coincidence. The sources from which Cock derived this nomenclature will be ascertained below. We may here observe in passing that some of the names are recognizably identical with those which were first mentioned by the chroniclers of the De Soto expedition. Thus Mocosa is the Mocoço of Ranjel and Elvas; Apalchen is Apalache; Cossa is spelled Coça in Ranjel and Elvas, Coza in Biedma's chronicle, and Cossa on the so-called De Soto map; Monte Suala on the Cock map is the Xuala or Xualla of the chroniclers. In the case of other names, the distortion is too great to permit of more than probable identification. Thus Otagil, Tagil may be standing for Agile or Axile; Calicuaz for Coligoa or Coligua, Capaschi for Capachequi.

Another indication that Mercator's planisphere was compiled from maps then available is the following. Six degrees west of the Texas coast, on the northern bank of the Rio Pánuco, there is a town named Colaoton. In a previous section we called attention to the fact that the German engraver of the Cortés map inscribed "Rio panu-colaoton" on his map, and that the Italian engraver of the same map mistakenly read "colaoton" for "laoton" as the name of the region on the banks of the Rio Pánuco. On Mercator's planisphere the same mistake is repeated, and besides, the region is changed into a town 350 miles inland. It cannot even be said that this last mistake was original on Mercator's part, for he merely copied this legend from Zaltieri's map.

The similarities pointed out in the preceding paragraphs leave little doubt as to the sources utilized by Mercator. We must now attempt to ascertain from what source Cock himself obtained the inland nomenclature north of the Gulf of Mexico. He could, of course, have made direct use of the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas, the only chronicler of De Soto's expedition whose work was then in print, but considering his distortions of the names mentioned by Elvas, some of which we have noted in connection with the list given above, it is more likely that his actual source was a model map on which these names were misspelled or else so badly written that he had to guess at their spelling.

This presumption is seemingly borne out by the title of Cock's engraving as catalogued by the British Museum, where the engraving itself is to be found: "Americae, sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio. Auctore D. Gutiero. 1562."[20] This author of the original was Diego Gutiérrez, a member of the geographic department of the Casa de Contratación, about whom little is known.[21] Few of his maps have come down to us in their original form. One, signed and dated 1550, does not have any inland nomenclature at all.[22] The original of this map, which is in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, Paris, may have been made on an earlier model, otherwise we cannot readily understand how a map dated 1550 should lack nomenclature that was certainly known at this date by the cosmographers of the Casa. Now the coastal nomenclature which is found on Gutiérrez' map of 1550 is so difficult to decipher that many place-names can be identified only by their more legible appearance on the other early Spanish maps which were ultimately based on the same matrix as that of Gutiérrez, namely, the padrón in Seville. The Gutiérrez map from which Cock made his 1562 engraving may well have contained the inland nomenclature which does not appear on the 1550 map preserved in Paris; but these place-names would very likely have been so difficult to decipher that the distorted form given by Cock to the De Soto nomenclature is readily understandable. It is manifestly impossible to reconstruct the original map from Cock's engraving of it, for we have already seen an instance of his arbitrary way of altering the map which he engraved, and it is to be feared that he took similar liberties with the nomenclature of the interior as well as with the position of place-names on the map of Gutiérrez.

Thus the source of the orography and nomenclature of the southern United States on the Mercator planisphere of 1569 is traced back, through Cock's map, to a map made by a member of the Casa de la Contratación at some unknown date after 1550. With regard to the nomenclature along the coast, Mercator used his own map of 1541 as a basis, adding some place-names which are found on the earlier maps discussed in the previous section. That the hydrography of the same region was not derived from Cock or the reports of the De Soto expedition is clear from the following consideration.

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[20] *Catalogue of the Printed Maps, Plans, and Charts in the British Museum,* London, 1885, col. 1704, 69.810 (18).

[21] There were two Diego Gutiérrezes, father and son. The author of this map is more probably the son. Cf. M. Fernández de Navarrete, *Biblioteca Marítima Española,* 2 volumes, Madrid, 1851, I, 342-343; Marcel, *Reproduction de cartes et de globes, Texte,* 108-109; Harrisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot,* 231-236.

[22] Diego gutierres cosmographo de Su mag^{d}. Me fizo enseuilla Año de 1550; ASH, 116-1, in Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes,* pl. 31-34. The reduction in the Karpinski Collection is too great to be of use.

Between the Rio Pánuco and the Rio de Perla, which is halfway down the west coast of Florida, Mercator's map represents the course of ten rivers, six of which empty into the Gulf on the north. Of these latter, the Rio de Pescadores is the longest; the Rio del Espíritu Santo, the second longest, empties not directly into the Gulf itself, but into a "Baia de Culata," which occupies the position of our modern Galveston Bay, twelve degrees west of the Gulf Coast of Florida. A comparison with Cock's engraving will show that these rivers as drawn by Mercator were not copied from Cock's; an examination of the reports of the De Soto expedition proves that Mercator did not make use of these reports, because the rivers on his map are neither named nor described therein.

In particular, it is impossible to maintain that the Rio del Espíritu Santo on the map of 1569 is the Mississippi. For although the latter river had been explored by the De Soto expedition twenty-five years before the date of this map, yet the Rio del Espíritu Santo is not represented as the largest river emptying into the Gulf, but rather as smaller and shorter than three other rivers, namely, the Rio de Pescadores, the "Palmar r." and the "r. Solo."

Mercator's map was widely imitated. Thus in 1570, a simplification of it appeared in Ortelius' atlas, but the exigencies of space prevented the draughtsman or the engraver from inscribing the names of the rivers along the coast. A map of the Western hemisphere[23] which appears in the same atlas includes a greater number of legends from the planisphere of 1569, but again the size of this map prevented the inclusion of all the geographical details found on the model. Certain changes of positions are purely arbitrary, and cannot be the result of a better understanding of accounts of travel, or of additional information about the country represented.

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[23] Americae sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio, in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,* Antwerp, 1570.

Notwithstanding Thevet's grandiloquent assertions to the contrary, the map of the Western hemisphere[24] in his *Cosmographie Universelle* is purely and simply a copy of Mercator's map. Some of the latter's Spanish place-names are translated into French, while others, as in the case of Desliens, are Frenchified rather than translated. Many of the legends in the text of Thevet are copied from Mercator's planisphere, but are not inscribed in his map. On the east bank of the "r. d S. Esprit," Thevet has two small tributaries which are also marked on the map of the Western hemisphere of Rumold Mercator,[25] and which have been identified by imaginative writers as the Ohio and the Illinois rivers! This map of 1587 became well known, for it appeared in the numerous editions of Mercator's atlas. The map in Jode's atlas, dated 1589 and published four years later,[26] as well as Michael Mercator's map of 1611,[27] and many others either in print or in manuscript are all ultimately based on the planisphere of 1569.

The manuscript maps of Martines which are not clearly based on the Mercator model but yet show the course of some rivers emptying into the Gulf require special mention here.[28] They show the influence of Mercator insofar as the nomenclature of the provinces and towns of the country north of the Gulf is concerned, but the place-names along the coast line which are derived from early Spanish maps, are more numerous than on the maps listed in the preceding paragraphs. As for the course of the rivers represented by Martines, it is simply an exercise of imagination.

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[24] Le Novveav Monde Descovvert et Illustre de Nostre Temps, in *La Cosmographie Universelle D'André Thevet Cosmographe du Roy,* Paris, 1575.

[25] *Orbis Terrae Compendiosa Descriptio Quam ex Magna Vniversali Gerardi Mercatoris . . . Rumoldus Mercator fieri curabat A° M.D. LXXXVII,* reproduced in Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas,* pl. XLVII, in *Atlas brésilien,* no. 33, in Winship, *The Coronado Expedition,* between pp. 388-389, etc.

[26] Totius Orbis Cogniti Universalis Descriptio, in [Gerard de Jode] *Speculum Orbis Terrarum,* [Antwerp, 1593].

[27] *America sive India Nova, ad Magnae Gerardi Mercatoris avi Vniversalis imitationem in compendium redacta. Per Michaelem Mercatorem Duysburgensem,* in the fourth edition of Mercator's atlas published at Amsterdam by Jodocus Hondius. The date, 1611, was changed into 1616.

[28] "The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, with the eastern Coast of America from 46° north to the line," title from the *Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans, . . . in the British Museum,* 3 volumes, 1844, I, 29. This map is no. 14 of an atlas of eighteen manuscript maps, Harleian Ms. 3450, it is reproduced in the Karpinski Collection, actual size photostat in the Ayer Collection. Cf. the maps of a section of North America and of the Gulf of Mexico in a Martines atlas of 1587, Madrid, Bib. Nac., CC 35 ER 6. nos. 14 and 16.—There is in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid a 1587 atlas by Chretien Sgrooten. The nomenclature is that of the Mercator planisphere, the rivers are all giant streams; the largest of all empties in the northwest corner of the Gulf and is called Rio de Piscadores. Its headwaters are at latitude 42°, in the foothills of a mountain range which separates the Floridan basin from the headwaters of subtributaries of the St. Lawrence.

In the Jode atlas referred to above, there is another map of the northern hemisphere which differs from the planisphere in several particulars.[29] The most notable difference is that just west of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, there is a much longer and wider river called R. del Oro. One degree from its mouth this river divides itself into two branches with their headwaters 500 miles to the north in the foothills of the mountain range which encircles Florida. Its appearance is not unlike that of the Rio del Espíritu Santo on the Cortés map.

The above list of maps belonging to the second group is far from exhaustive, but nothing would be gained by lengthening it. From the examples given it should be clear that the appearance of the course of a river on a map does not mean that the mapmaker entered it after studying accounts of travelers, nor does it mean that the river has been explored. All that can be deduced from an examination of the maps of the second group is that on many of them a river named Rio del Espíritu Santo empties into a large bay in the northwestern corner of the Gulf. We have seen that these maps are based on a few models, mainly the Cortés map of 1524 and the Mercator planisphere of 1569, and an analysis of these model maps makes it quite clear that the course of the rivers shown on them has little more foundation than the fancy of the cartographer. Consequently, the maps of this second group do not prove the identity of the Rio del Espíritu Santo with the Mississippi any more than do the maps of the first group. First, there is the bay into which the river empties. Geologists assure us that the Mississippi in historic times did not empty into a bay, but directly into the Gulf. Secondly, the position of this bay is shown on all these maps much farther west than the actual position of the mouth of the Mississippi. These arguments have already been presented in our discussion of the first group of maps, but they apply here as well, because the coast line, as shown in the second group is based on the same model as the first group, namely, the padrón in Seville. Finally there is admittedly no river emptying into the Gulf which is comparable in size with the Mississippi, and yet on many of these maps other rivers are represented as longer and wider than the Mississippi actually is.

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[29] Hemispheriū ab Aequinoctiali Linea, ad cirulū Poli Arctici; also reproduced in *Atlas brésilien,* no. 35.

IV

Before studying the third group of maps, we shall briefly examine Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's account of his journey along the Gulf Coast from St. Marks' Bay to Galveston. This narrative is worthy of detailed study because it is the earliest account of an exploratory voyage along this section of the coast, and remained the only account for more than a century and a half.

In June 1527, Pamphilo de Narváez left Spain for America. This expedition is recorded on the Weimar map of that year, as the following legend on the map indicates: "Tierra que aora va apoblar panfilo de Narbaes." The earliest extant Spanish map which indicates the place where Narváez landed is the Cabot map, whereon the following note is inscribed near the legend "baya de miruelo" [Apalachee Bay], "Aqui desambarco panf^{lo} de Narvaez." This map is dated 1544, seven years after Cabeza de Vaca had returned to Spain with the news of the fate of the expedition. It is impossible to say whether the geographers of the Casa received a written report similar to that prepared by Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, and Castillo for the Audiencia at Santo Domingo, or whether they used Cabeza de Vaca's book which was published in 1542, two years before the date of the Cabot map. It may be that the Spanish cartographers did not take Cabeza's report very seriously, for as has been observed, "there are few Spanish narratives that are more unsatisfactory to deal with by reason of the lack of directions, distances and other details, than that of Cabeza de Vaca."[1] Although the author of this comment is referring primarily to the route followed across the continent from Texas to Sonora, the Cabeza narrative is just as unsatisfactory with regard to directions, distances, and other details along the Gulf Coast.

As for the relative merits of the letter to the Audiencia and Cabeza's book of 1542, Bandelier says: "Oviedo, who gives the text in full of the letter handed to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo by Cabeza de Vaca and Castillo when they touched that port on their return to Spain in 1537, has used the 1542 print for comparison with that letter . . . [and] inclines in favor of the former."[2] He adds that the two accounts do not conflict "on important points" and that "on the whole the difference between the two documents is so slight that there has been no occasion to publish [in English] the Letter to the Audiencia also." There are, however, in this letter, important details regarding the location of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo into which the river of the same name emptied, which are not found in the book and which bear on the question at issue in this essay. Bandelier further remarks: "A very serious objection to the credibility of the three narratives,[3] arises from the fact that all are based upon recollections only, and not upon journals or field-notes of any kind. It was, of course impossible for the outcasts, shifted and shifting from tribe to tribe, to keep any written record of their trip."[4]

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[1] F. W. Hodge and T. H. Lewis, eds., *Spanish Explorers of the Southern United States 1528-1543,* New York, 1907, 7. This volume comprises three narratives, that of Cabeza de Vaca, that of the Gentleman of Elvas, and Castañeda's narrative of the Coronado expedition. Hodge edited the first and the third, Lewis edited the second.

Information of this sort would hardly be used by the official cosmographers for the padrón, as we can see from the following note which Gómara inserts at the end of his description of the American coast in his *Historia General de las Indias:* "The number of leagues and the latitudes set down by me are according to the maps of the royal cosmographers, who neither receive nor accept the report of any pilot except under oath and [when corroborated by the testimony of] witnesses."[5] From the historical legend inscribed on the Cabot map, we know that the journey of Cabeza de Vaca was known to the geographers of the Casa; they certainly had the book and they may also have had a copy of the collective letter to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. Yet, the only legend which distinctly refers to the Narváez expedition is this one on the Cabot map, which may never have been inserted on the official padrón at all. The attitude of the Casa toward all this information may be gathered from the following comments of Oviedo:

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[2] F. Bandelier, translator, *The Journey of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca,* New York, 1905, introduction by A. Bandelier, xiv.

[3] Bandelier is referring to (1) the *Relacion que dio Aluar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca . . .,* Zamora, 1542, reprinted at Valladolid in 1555, under the title *La relacion y comentarios del governador Aluar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca . . .;* the *Comentarios* added to this edition are by Pero Hernandez, and relate to Cabeza de Vaca's career in South America. I have been unable to consult the 1542 edition, but according to Hodge the differences between the two texts are slight. (2) The letter to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, in Oviedo, III, 582 ff.; this is an earlier account than the preceding one. (3) The "Relación de Cabeza de Vaca, tesorero que fué en la conquista," in *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos, . . . sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias,* 42 volumes, Madrid, 1864-1884, XIV, 269-279.

[4] Bandelier, *op. cit.,* introduction, xvi.

[5] Gómara, *Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias,* Fol. ix verso.

> But in some way, I consider more trustworthy and clearer the relation of the three [the letter to the Audiencia] than the other [scl. the book] which only one wrote and which he published; as I say, I am taking from the [collective] letter and from what Cabeza de Vaca himself [told me] what is added to this chapter. They express themselves clearly and said what needed to be said, in spite of the fact that, as we have seen, having undergone such hardships they did not make a formal report or kept a record of their route, or through what latitudes their aimless wanderings took them. . . . I am not surprised at this, since the pilot himself, Miruello by name, was unable to guide them to the port which the fleet set out to find, and he was unable to tell them where he landed them or where they were. . . .[6]

Moreover, the very position of the legend on the Cabot map[7] which marks the supposed landing place of Narváez is so far from accurate that it must have been based on conjecture rather than on actual sworn data, and this is a further reason why the geographers would not insert it in the padrón. Most modern writers locate Narváez's landing place "at St. Clement's Point on the Peninsula west of Tampa Bay."[8] This identification is much too precise in view of the fragmentary and unsatisfactory evidence on which it is based, but we call attention to it because the same overprecision appears in modern accounts of Cabeza de Vaca's discovery of the Mississippi. It is readily admitted that coming from the east and keeping close to the coast, the makeshift boats must have passed the mouths of the Mississippi, but whether the usually quoted passage in Cabeza de Vaca's relation designates the Mississippi is far from certain.

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[6] *Historia General y Natural de las Indias,* III, 615.

[7] "The Bahia de la Cruz of Narvaez' landing made identical with Apalachee Bay by Cabot, is likely to have been by him correctly identified, as the point could be fixed by the pilots who returned with the ships to Cuba, and would naturally be recorded on the charts. . . . Narvaez and his party evidently thought that they were nearer Pánuco, and had no idea they were so near Havana. Had they been at Tampa Bay, or on a coast running north and south, they can scarcely be supposed to have been so egregiously mistaken," Shea, in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* II, 288. With regard to the position, Cabeza de Vaca distinctly states that Miruelo and the other pilots had no idea as to where they were. Gómara gave the conditions which were to be fulfilled before new discoveries were inserted in the official map. Moreover it should be borne in mind that the maps which have come down to us were not primarily intended to be used by the Spanish pilots. Most of these maps are artistic productions that give a fairly accurate, but general idea of the geography of the known world. Between these maps and the sailing charts given to the pilots there was a difference similar to that which exists today between maps found in ordinary atlases and the maps issued by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey or the British Admiralty.

[8] W. Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States 1513-1561,* New York, 1901, 177 and Appendix J, 453-455, where the various opinions up to the time of publication are listed. Hodge, *Spanish Explorers of the Southern United States,* 19, note 1, seemingly accepts this identification.

Miruelo was boasting when he assured Narváez that he knew the northern coast of the Gulf and the way to the Rio de las Palmas. After landing, he did not know where he was, nor where was the port near the Rio de las Palmas whereto he had promised to steer the ships. Two weeks later, Narváez held a council which Cabeza de Vaca attended. The commander told them that he intended to march inland, while the ships would lounge the coast to the harbor which they believed was not far distant. This plan was opposed by Cabeza de Vaca, but Fray Juan Xuárez was all in favor of it. He advocated going in search of the harbor which the pilots said was not more than ten or fifteen leagues from where they were in the direction of Pánuco. By following the coast they could not fail to come upon this port, because, they believed, the sea entered the land a dozen leagues.[9] This port was the mouth of the Rio de las Palmas, whither Narváez first intended to go, and to which Miruelo had claimed to know the route. From what Xuarez is reported to have said, it is clear that the pilots were just as ignorant of the geography of the Gulf as Miruelo was, and it is little wonder that the geographers of the Casa would not enter on the padrón the Bahía de la Cruz where Narváez landed.

Returning from the Apalachee country, the expedition arrived at a bay called "Bahía de Caballos" by Cabeza de Vaca and which is identified as St. Marks' Bay.[10] They left this place in the makeshift boats, September 29, 1528, and followed the coast "in the direction of the Rio de las Palmas," that is, they followed the west shore of Apalachee Bay, which runs in a southwesterly direction to Cape San Blas. Here the shore line begins to run northwestward, but Cabeza de Vaca does not mention any change of direction during the thirty days they followed the coast to a place where they "found shelter with much calm."[11] This place has been identified as Pensacola Bay. After the rough weather had subsided they "again embarked and navigated three days,"[12] at the end of which they entered an estuary (estero). If the previous stopping place is Pensacola, the estuary should be

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[9] *Spanish Explorers of the Southern United States*, 22-23.

[10] *Ibid.*, 37, note 2.

[11] *Ibid.*, 38, note 1.

[12] *Ibid.*, 39.

Mobile Bay; commentators, however, omit to identify this place. After a brush with the Indians, the Spaniards put to sea followed by the natives hurling clubs and throwing stones at them "until mid-day."[13]

> We sailed that day[14] until the hour of vespers,[15] when my boat, which was leading, discovered a point made by the land, and against a cape opposite, could be seen a very great river.[16] I cast anchor near a little island forming the point, to await the arrival of the other boats. The Governor did not want to come there, but entered a bay near by in which were many islets. We came together there, and took fresh water from the sea, for the stream entered it in freshet.[17] To parch some of the maize we had brought with us, since we had eaten it raw for two days, we went on that island;[18] but finding no fire-wood, we agreed to go to the river beyond the point, one league off. By no effort could we get there, so strong was the current,[19] which drove us out, while we contended and strove to gain land. The north wind, which came from the shore, began to blow so strongly that it forced us to sea without our being able to overcome it. We sounded half a league out, and could not find bottom at thirty fathoms; but we were unable to satisfy ourselves whether it was the current that was the cause of our failure to find bottom.

Eight days after the adventure at the mouth of this river, Cabeza de Vaca and a few of his unfortunate companions were cast ashore on an island which is identified by some as Galveston Island, by others as Velasco Island,[20] just south of the former. The very great river with the strong current is "the Mississippi the waters of which were now seen by white men fourteen years before the 'discovery' of the stream by De Soto."[21] This identification is made by the same author who identified Pensacola Bay, which was reached after a navigation of thirty days from St. Marks' Bay, a distance of 200 miles along the coast. The unidentified estuary was reached in three days and the Mississippi in one more day, which means that it took them only four days to travel 250 miles, and only eight more days to cover the 350 miles between the mouth of the very great river with the strong current to Galveston.

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[13] *Ibid.,* 41. The Spanish text of the 1555 edition as well as the Bandelier translation of the 1542 edition of the *Relacion* were used to emend the translation published in *Spanish Explorers.*

[14] Hodge, *Spanish Explorers,* 41, note 1, observes that "according to the Letter [to the Audiencia] they travelled two days more before reaching this point of land."

[15] "Hasta hora de visperas," Bandelier rendered this "until nightfall"; Hodge in *Spanish Explorers,* "the middle of the afternoon." The time of vespers, according to the season, varied between 4:00 and 6:00 P. M.

[16] "Un río muy grande."

[17] "Porque el río entraua en la mar de auenida"; Bandelier's translation: "because the river emptied into it like a torrent."

[18] "Saltamos en aquella isla," namely, the island forming the point.

[19] "Era tanta la corriente."

[20] *Spanish Explorers,* 57, note 2.

[21] *Ibid.,* 41, note 2.

Only when the chronology of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative between the intermediary points of the two termini, St. Marks' Bay and Galveston, is compared with the distances does the difficulty of identifying these intermediary points become manifest. Even if we should take the time given by Oviedo—two days—between the estuary and the mouth of the very great river with the strong current, this would mean that they went from Pensacola Bay to the "Mississippi" in five or six days, or that the Spaniards in wretched boats, exhausted by fatigue and privations, managed to cover, in stormy weather, forty miles a day. Neither the greatness of the river, nor the strength of the current are of much use in identifying it, for Cabeza de Vaca uses the same words to describe rivers which are certainly not comparable with the Mississippi.[22]

Cabeza de Vaca did not recognize the Mississippi—if that be the great river with the strong current—as the Rio del Espíritu Santo, although he knew that somewhere on the coast there was a river thus called which emptied into a bay of the same name, for both he and his companions looked for it much farther west than the mouth of the Mississippi. After meeting Dorantes, the survivors decided to remain on the island, but they "also agreed that four men of the most robust should go to Pánuco, which they believed to be near."[23] Dorantes, one of those who went in search of Pánuco, "followed the coast forty leagues farther," in a southwesterly direction and "passed three times by a bay (ancon), which he says he believes from its appearance to be the one which they call *del Espiritu Sancto.*" After crossing another bay with the help of the Indians, "they marched two leagues to a great river which was beginning to swell owing to inundation and rains";[24] they made rafts and had much trouble in crossing it, because there were few swimmers among them. From this latter bay, they marched three leagues to another very mighty and flooded river, which flowed "with such violence that fresh water went out very far into the sea."[25] Continuing their journey southward, the travelers crossed other "rios grandes," until they arrived at a bay which was "wide and about one league across; the side in the direction of Pánuco juts into the sea about one fourth of a league; it has huge hillocks of white sand, which must be seen far out in the sea, and for this reason they conjectured that it must be the *Rio del Espíritu Sancto*."[26]

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[22] During the march in Florida, "llegamos a vn río que lo passamos con muy gran trabajo a nado y en balsas: detuuimonos vn dia en pasarlo que traya *muy grã corriẽte,*" *La relación y comentarios,* Fol. vii verso. Hodge identifies this river as "evidently the Withlacoochee which enters the Gulf at latitude 29°," *Spanish Explorers,* 25, note 3. "Aquella noche legamos a un río, el qual era *muy hõdo y muy ancho, y la corriente muy rezia . . .,*" *La relación,* Fol. viii verso; according to Hodge, *ibid.,* 27, note 1, this was the Suwannee River. "Ya en este camino la auiamos descubierto por vn *río muy grande* que en el hallamos, a quien auiamos puesto por nombre el río de la Magdalena," *La relación,* Fol. xi verso; the St. Marks' River, according to Hodge, *ibid.,* 33, note 1.

[23] *Spanish Explorers,* 49. Cf. the letter to the Audiencia, Oviedo, III, 591.

In conclusion it may then be said that there is no more reason for identifying the Mississippi as the great river with the strong current spoken of by Cabeza de Vaca than there is for identifying it with the very large and mighty river mentioned in the royal *cédula* of 1521; and secondly, the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca certainly does not prove the identity of the Mississippi and the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

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(To be continued)

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[24] "Hasta un rio grande que commençaba á crescer por avenidas é lluvias," Oviedo, III, 593.

[25] "Hasta otro rio que venia muy poderoso é avenido é con tanta furia que salia el agua dulçe muy grand rato en la mar," *ibid.*

[26] Oviedo, III, 593. Speaking of the terminus of this journey, Oviedo notes: "é que assi llegaron al ancon ques dicho que creian ques el del Espíritu Sancto," *ibid.*, 594. After leaving Malhado Island, Cabeza de Vaca crossed "el ancón y quatro ríos que ay por la costa, . . . y ansi, fuymos con algunos indios adelante, hasta que llegamos a vn ancon, que tiene vna legua de traués: y es por todas partes hõdo: y por lo que del paresció y vimos, es el que llamã *del spiritu sancto* . . .," *La relación y comentarios,* Fol. xxii. See the variant in *Documentos inéditos,* XIV, 279.

José de Anchieta: "Apostle of Brazil"

Among the molders of Brazilian society in her pioneering period, the sixteenth century, six great figures stand out preeminently: the two heroic governors, Tomé de Sousa and Mem de Sá; Bishop D. Pedro Leitão; and the three Jesuit "Apostles," Manuel da Nóbrega, Luiz da Grã, and José de Anchieta. These men were the pillars upon which the Brazilian nation took form.

In the period when the new society was adapting itself to its new surroundings, it is no exaggeration to say, with Brazil's historians, that the Jesuits were the principal agents in the spiritual, intellectual, and cultural development of the land. The following pages are devoted to perhaps the most widely known of the Jesuit collaborators in the formation of Brazilian society: José de Anchieta.

I

The Anchieta bibliography is extensive.[1] Scarcely a writer who touches on early Brazilian history and literature fails to speak of him. He has attracted historians, Americanists, ethnologists, naturalists, doctors, students of literature, linguists, and poets. Among the people of Brazil he has become a legendary figure, and oral tradition is rich in stories about his charity, his miracles, his prophecies, his many heroic feats.

Although more has been written about Anchieta than about any other sixteenth-century Brazilian, the investigations of recent Luso-Brazilian scholars have made it increasingly clear that a scientific life of Anchieta remains to be written. Strange as it may seem, not a single satisfactory study of Anchieta, long or short, exists in English.[2]

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[1] Although no comprehensive bibliography of Anchieta exists, useful bibliographies may be found in the following works: Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum,* 10 volumes, Münster-Aachen, 1916-1938, *et seq.*; Antonio de Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na Capitania de São Vicente," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico,* Rio de Janeiro, Tomo 105, Vol. 159 (1929), "Bibliographia," 15-26; *id., Cartas Jesuiticas, III, Cartas, Informações, Fragmentos Historicos e Sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, S. J., (1554-1594),* Coleção Afrânio Peixoto, Rio de Janeiro, 1933 (hereafter cited as CJ, III), "Bibliografia do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, S. J.," 27-31 (this list, also printed in *III Centenario do Veneravel Joseph de Anchieta,* Paris-Lisbôa, 1900, 343-348, is taken from Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus,* 11 volumes, Bruxelles-Paris, 1890-1932, I, 310-312, VIII, 1631-1632), 5-11, and *passim*; Affonso A. de Freitas, *Diccionario Historico, Topographico, Ethnographico Illustrado do Municipio de São Paulo,* São Paulo, 1929, I, 159-163; Serafim Leite, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* 2 volumes, Lisbôa-Rio de Janeiro, 1938, *passim.*

The best sources for the study of the life and work of Anchieta are the contemporary records, civil and religious, which survive from his own lifetime, or shortly after. Especially important are Anchieta's own letters, reports, and other writings. His letters began to appear in print as early as 1555.[3] Since then his writings have appeared in numerous publications, and most of them have long been available in various historical publications. Much material has been published in the *Annaes* of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, and the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro,* published in the same city. Finally, in 1933, all the known Anchieta letters and reports were gathered together, carefully edited and copiously annotated, by the Brazilian scholar A. de Alcantara Machado in a volume entitled, *Cartas, Informações, Fragmentos Historicos e Sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, S. J., (1554-1594).* This is the best edition of Anchieta's writings.[4]

Biographies of Anchieta have been written in eight languages (Portuguese, Latin, Spanish, French, German, Italian, Flemish, and English). They range from brief sketches to full-length works. All the early biographies were by fellow Jesuits who wrote primarily for the edification of their companions, hence they emphasize Anchieta's heroic Christian virtues, his works of Christian charity, and his saintly and supernatural gifts. Little emphasis is placed upon his equally important role in the human sphere as one of the really great founders of Brazilian society. Of the early Jesuit lives of Anchieta, the two fundamental ones are those of his contemporaries Caxa and Rodrigues.[5] All the later ones, which are too numerous to list here, are founded directly or indirectly upon these two accounts. Beretario and Paternina, whose biographies had a wide circulation, originated a few errors in the story which were later perpetuated by others.[6] Sgambata, Astria, Monteyro, Oddi, and Baltasar de Anchieta added little to the story, with the exception of the last mentioned, whose work contains genealogical data not found elsewhere.[7] Vasconcellos exaggerated;[8] Franco summarized what his predecessors had written.[9] Of the modern non-Jesuit biographies the most worthy of mention are those of Vieira, Calmon, Lima, B. Machado, and Alcantara Machado.[10] However, these works, excepting the last two, differ primarily in style only. As Serafim Leite has stated, "A critical history of the lives of Anchieta would constitute an interesting study."[11]

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[2] Mention should be made of *The Life of Father Joseph Anchieta, S. J.,* London, 1849; and "Anchieta," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* New York, 1936, I, 487-488. The former, of which the latter is little more than a brief summary, is an English translation of Beretario, cited in note 6, below.

[3] Cf. CJ, III, 28-29. Besides some of his letters, Anchieta's grammar, described below, was also printed during his lifetime: *Arte de grammatica da lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil,* Coimbra, 1595.

[4] Cf. note 1, above, for complete title. Despite the excellency of this volume, Serafim Leite has stated that the letters translated from the original Latin should be critically revised.

[5] Quirício Caxa, *Breve Relação da Vida e Morte do P. José de Anchieta, 5° Provincial Que Foi Do Brasil, Recolhida Por O P. Quiricio Caixa, Por Ordem Do P. Provincial Pero Roiz No Ano de 98.* MS. First published by Serafim Leite in *Brotería,* Lisbôa, XVIII (1934), 165-174, 253-265, and later in his volume *Páginas de Historia do Brasil,* São Paulo, 1937, 147-183.

Pero Rodrigues, *Vida do Padre José de Anchieta* (1607), in *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro,* XXIX (1909), 181-287.

Among the sources for the study of Anchieta's life mention should also be made of many secondary works, popular and learned, that deal with the period,[12] including those that appeared on the occasion of the third centenary of the death of Anchieta in 1897,[13] in honor of the fourth centenary of his birth in 1933-1934,[14] and in honor of the cuarto-centenary of the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1940. These events revived interest in the general study of the Jesuits in colonial Brazil.

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[6] Sebastiano Beretario, *Josephi Anchietiae Societatis Iesu Sacerdotis in Brasilia defuncti Vita,* Lugduni, 1617; Esteban de Paternina, *Vida del Padre Joseph de Ancheta* (sic), Salamanca, 1618. Beretario's work was a Latin translation of Rodrigues, Paternina's a Spanish translation of Beretario, slightly amplified. Father Rodrigues lived to see these two editions, and on November 5, 1619, he commented on them, noting some of their errors. (Leite, *História,* II, 387, and 387, n. 2, n. 5.) A French translation of Beretario was published in 1619 (Streit, II, 747), and an Italian translation in 1621 (Sommervogel, I, 1326).

[7] Scipione Sgambata, *Elogio del P. Giuseppe Anchieta della Compagnia di Giesù,* Napoli, 1631; Giovanni Battista Astria, *Vita del Padre Gioseffo Anchieta della Compagnia di Giesù,* Bologna, 1643; Manoel Monteyro, *Compendio Panegyrico do P. José de Anchieta,* Lisbôa, 1660; Don Baltasar de Anchieta, *Compendio de la vida de el apóstol de el Brasil,* Xerez de la Frontera, 1677; Longaro Degli Oddi, *Della vita del Ven. Servo di Dio P. Giuseppe Anchieta,* Roma, 1738. Most of these works went through several editions.

[8] Simão de Vasconcellos, *Vida do Veneravel José de Anchieta da Companhia de Jesus,* Lisbôa, 1672.

[9] Antonio Franco, *Vida do Admiravel Padre José de Anchieta, Thaumaturgo do Novo Mundo,* (1719), Rio de Janeiro, 1898.

[10] Celso Vieira, *Anchieta,* Rio de Janeiro, 1930; Pedro Calmon, *José de Anchieta, O Santo do Brasil,* São Paulo, 1930; Jorge de Lima, *Anchieta,* Rio de Janeiro, 1934; Antonio de Alcantara Machado, "Vida do Padre José de Anchieta," CJ, III, 541-560; Dr. Brasilio Machado, "Anchieta—Narração de sua vida," *III Centenario do Veneravel Joseph de Anchieta,* 61-101.

[11] Leite, *História,* II, 387, n. 2.

[12] The most important of these may be gleaned from the references cited in note 1, above, and in the various articles on sixteenth-century Brazil which have appeared in volumes XXIV and XXV of MID-AMERICA (1942-1943).

[13] Cf. especially *III Centenario do Veneravel Joseph de Anchieta*; and comments in Leite, *História,* I, xxv.

[14] Cf. especially José da Frota Gentil, *Vida Illustrada do V. P. José de*

In discussing the Anchieta bibliography, special reference should be made to the writings of Serafim Leite, the prolific Jesuit historian and outstanding living authority on the Jesuits of colonial Brazil. Leite has had access to the important Jesuit archives of Italy (Rome), Portugal, and Brazil, and he has uncovered hitherto unutilized documents which have enabled him to correct many traditional errors and fill in a number of obscure gaps in the study of Anchieta's life. His works, some of them documentary volumes, and others copiously annotated and replete with quotations, from original Jesuit documents, take on the character of a source collection.[15]

The following remark by Leite might well be placed at the end instead of at the beginning of this introductory essay, which is aimed merely at breaking new ground and opening a broader horizon in Brazilian studies in this country: "A scientifically sound life of Anchieta is yet to be written."[16]

II

José de Anchieta was born on March 19, 1534, in the city of São Cristóvão da Laguna, capital of the island of Tenerife, in the Canary Islands. He was baptized in April of the same year, in the parish church of Our Lady of Remedies, in the same city.[17]

Anchieta, Nova Friburgo, 1933; Anibal Mattos, *Joseph de Anchieta,* Bello Horizonte, 1934; Vicente Themudo Lessa, *Anchieta e o supplicio de Balleur,* São Paulo, 1934; F. Ogara, "L'Apostolo del Brasile Ven. Giuseppe Anchieta, S. I.," *La Civiltà Cattolica,* anno 85, I (1934), 345-358; *Anchieta (Quarto centenario do seu nascimento), Conferências lidas no Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro 1933-1934,* Pôrto Alegre, 1935.

[15] Most important for the life and times of Anchieta are his *História* and *Páginas,* previously cited, and his *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas,* São Paulo, 1940.

[16] Leite, *Páginas,* 183.

[17] Some authors, following Anchieta's first biographers, give the date of his birth as 1533. Some give the month as April and others March, those giving the latter date always giving March 19. However, in the baptismal records for the year 1534, as preserved in the church at La Laguna, among the entries for the year 1534 is found one which reads: "Jusepe hijo de Jñ de Ancheta y de su mujer fué bautizado en VII del mes de abril . . ." Thus we know definitely that he was baptized April 7, 1534. The baptismal record does not give the date of his birth. Leite appears to be fully justified in concluding, however, that he was born on March 19 of that same year, for nearly all agree that he was born on March 19, and in the sixteenth century, in Spanish territory, it is highly improbable that Catholic parents would wait over a year before baptizing their child.

The baptismal record is reproduced in Leite, *História,* II, 627-628, and *id., Páginas,* 186. Cf. also Leite, "Quando nasceu José de Anchieta," *Páginas,* 185-187; Alcantara Machado, "Vida do Padre Joseph de Anchieta," CJ, III, 544-545; Vieira, *Anchieta,* 207.

His parents, Juan de Anchieta and Mencia Díaz de Claviko Llarena, were both of noble lineage. The Anchietas had long been related by blood and historical events with the family of St. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order, and hence were also related to St. Francis Xavier. The details of this relationship were made known by Adolphe Coster in his work *Juan de Anchieta et la famille de Loyola,* Paris, 1930.[18]

In Guipuzcoa, one of the three Basque provinces of northern Spain, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there were two bitterly hostile factions, whose constant warfare disrupted the life of the province to such a degree that eight cities rose up against them. The two factions, faced with this dilemma, united, and threatened the defiant cities with destruction. But King Henry IV of Castile intervened, and exiled from Guipuzcoa, for a time, the leaders of the noble factions. Juan Pérez of Loyola was the leader, by inheritance, of one of these noble factions, that of Oñaz, and the Anchietas belonged to this faction as vassals. The Anchieta properties were in Urrestilla, a town two kilometers from Loyola. In 1460, it appears, Urtayzaga de Loyola married Martín García de Anchieta, thus uniting the two families by ties of blood. One of the three sons by this marriage was Juan de Anchieta, who became a priest, gained fame as a singer and composer, and in 1489 was named chaplain and chorister for the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella. During the closing years of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, the leader of the noble faction of Oñaz was Beltrán Yáñez, father of the founder of the Jesuit Order, St. Ignatius, and first cousin of Father Juan de Anchieta. The two were friends, and Father Juan helped arrange the marriage of Martín, son of Beltrán, to a lady of the court of Queen Isabella. In recompense, the father was made rector of the parish church of Azpeitia, of which Beltrán Yáñez was patron, with rights to the tithes. In 1507 Beltrán died, and his son Martín García succeeded him as patron of the church. Eight years later Father Juan returned to Azpeitia, and irritated his cousins no end by attempting to secure the succession to the rectorate for his nephew, which was contrary to the plans of Pedro López, brother of Martín and Ignatius, and himself a priest. A hectic series of arguments and litigations resulted, the outcome of which is not known.

Father Juan was a native of Urrestilla, in Guipuzcoa, where he was born about 1462. Sometime between 1503 and 1516 María Martínez de Esquerrategui, of Azpeitia, referred to by him as a "mujer suelta," bore him a son, also named Juan de Anchieta, who appears to have been the father of the great Jesuit missionary of Brazil. These facts recently brought to light by Coster may explain why the early biographers of the "Apostle of Brazil" make no reference to the paternal ancestry, despite the blood relationship between the Anchietas and St. Ignatius, and even though the names of Ana and Catarina López de Anchieta, relatives of St. Ignatius, the latter a first cousin, appear in the records gathered for his beatification. The events in the life of his grandfather and their outcome, may also partially explain why the father of the future "Apostle" migrated to Tenerife, and why his son was sent to Portugal to study instead of to Spain.

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[18] These facts are summarized in Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 541-544.

The chronology in the lives of the two Juans is, however, still somewhat confused for the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The son, Juan de Anchieta, was born in Urrestilla, birthplace of his father. After serving his monarch as a soldier in Granada, he followed the advice of relatives also in the royal service who urged him to seek his fortune in the Canary Islands, which had recently been conquered by Spain, and which were attracting many Spaniards, especially from the Biscayan region and Andalusia, because of their reported fertility. He migrated to the island of Tenerife, where he married Mencia Díaz, "native of Gran Canaria, principal one of the Fortunate Isles, of noble blood and large estate, descendant of the house of Fernãdo de Llarena, who took part in the conquest of Tenerife as captain of cavalry, and played an important part in it."[19] Or to quote from Caxa, José de Anchieta's first biographer, "Mencia Díaz was a descendant of the natives who were found there when the isle was captured by the Christians."[20] Mencia Díaz was the widow of Bachelor Nuño Núñez de Villavicencio, by whom she had two sons. Of the marriage with Juan de Anchieta ten children were born, the third of which was José, the "Apostle of Brazil." Juan de Anchieta held various posts in Tenerife, including that of procurator of the town council, and died between February of 1553 and March of the year following. His wife lived many years longer, leaving a will dated 1584, at which time six children of the fruitful marriage were still living: Teresa, Ana, José, Juan,

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[19] Baltasar de Anchieta, *Compendio de la vida de el apóstol de el Brasil,* 28; cited in Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 544.

[20] Caxa, *Breve Relação,* in Leite, *Páginas,* 152.

Baltasar, and Gaspar.[21] Very little is known of these brothers and sisters of Father Anchieta.

Tenerife, the little island on which José de Anchieta spent his childhood days, was a Spanish outpost only recently subjugated by force of arms. It is the largest of the Canary Islands. The group consists of seven occupied islands, with an area of some 2,807 square miles. The peak of Tenerife, which rises some 12,200 feet from the sea, dominates the entire group. Like the other neighboring isles, Tenerife is of volcanic origin; a quiescent volcano occupies nearly two-thirds of the island. Its lower slopes are covered with beautiful forests and meadows. The Canaries were known since Roman antiquity as the Fortunate Isles. The wars for the conquest of the islands lasted nearly a century (1404-1496), during which the fusion of the native and Spanish races began, a process which rapidly followed the pacification of the region. In 1477 the Catholic monarchs assumed the task of subjugating the larger islands; meanwhile, by various treaties from 1480 to 1509, the Portuguese crown renounced all claims.[22]

Some writers charge that the conquerors of the Canaries extirpated the native race, the *Guanches*. As a matter of fact, the native race lost its identity through the loss of its language, intermarriage, and the general abandonment of native family names to take, in baptism and marriage, the names of the conquerors. That the native race was not extirpated is amply proved by the physical traits of the Canary islanders and their customs and traditions. Christianization and hispanization, accompanied by intermarriage, were so rapid that by the second decade of the sixteenth century the native leaders considered themselves Spaniards. It is interesting that José de Anchieta refers in later years to his Biscayan origin, because his father was from there; José never set foot on Biscay.[23] The more cultured natives held high posts in the army, the church, and the civil administration, and many of the conquerors married native women. José de Anchieta's mother was the daughter of such a marriage, and he himself a living example of what may be achieved through that same ideal of the human dignity of all men. Upon the completion of the conquest the conquerors devoted themselves to agriculture, taught the natives to collect water deposits, opened mines, dug ditches to divert streams to useful purposes, rotated crops, planted sugar cane, grape vines, and fruit trees, built mills, developed fishing, and established trade with Europe. The development of the isles was the work of all, and the wealth was in the hands of the descendants of both races.[24]

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[21] Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 544.

[22] Pedro Aguado Bleye, *Manual de Historia de España,* 2 volumes, Bilbao, 1929, II, 15-16; Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española,* 4 volumes, Madrid, 1909-1911, II, 393.

[23] CJ, III, 327, "Informação do Brasil e de suas Capitanias" (1584).

In these surroundings, of mild and sunny climate, with the peaceful air of a land apart and far away, Anchieta spent his childhood days. He learned how to read and write in his home, on the Plaza del Adelantado, where he later studied Latin. The religious spirit of his home probably influenced his religious inclinations.[25] José's serious and studious character apparently impressed all those with whom he came in contact, for his father's will refers to "a certain *cédula* which Cristóval Moreno . . . gave me for my son Joseph for Coimbra, which consisted of twenty ducats."[26] In 1550 José left for Portugal to enter the University of Coimbra.

III

At Coimbra, though only seventeen, Anchieta soon displayed his linguistic and literary talents. "With his great ability he soon demonstrated that he was one of the best in the first class, and he soon spoke Portuguese like one who had spoken it since childhood, something rarely found among those whose native tongue is Castilian."[27] According to early biographers he wrote such beautiful prose and poetry that his fellow students referred to him as "the Canary," an allusion to the song-bird and to Anchieta's island home.[28] Of a highly sensitive character, and deeply religious, his personal reaction to the vice and immorality that surrounded the university quarters was one of deepening spirituality. One day, like St. Ignatius at Montserrat, he knelt before an image of the Blessed Virgin in the cathedral at Coimbra and made a perpetual vow of chastity.[29]

Attracted, undoubtedly, by the ascetic rules and the zeal for moral reform of the recently organized Society of Jesus, and perhaps influenced by personal acquaintance with some of the Jesuit professors at Coimbra, on May 1, 1551, at the age of seventeen, Anchieta joined the Society.[30] When he became a Jesuit novice he had already studied logic and dialectics, and some philosophy.[31] He was a student of great promise, "brilliant and of fine memory";[32] and "a living example of virtue, especially in devotion, humility, and obedience."[33] But his health, always delicate, now failed him. According to the Jesuit Catalogue of 1552 he was excused from the regular course in philosophy due to ill health.[34] The illness referred to here was serious. It not only cut short his studies at Coimbra, but dogged him for the remainder of his life. Anchieta had developed a curvature of the spine which twisted his ribs out of place. "His spine became the shape of an S, twisted from his right shoulder to his left side."[35] This condition caused him continuous suffering. Long prayers, fasting, and self-imposed flagellation weakened his already frail body. Over ten years later Anchieta wrote: ". . . my ribs still tire me, and cause pain as they usually do, and are very weak."[36] In 1585 the Jesuit Visitor spoke of his "many and long standing illnesses."[37] The cause of Anchieta's spinal injury, which left him hunchbacked throughout life, has been variously attributed to either of two causes. According to his contemporary, Caxa, while at Coimbra the devout Jesuit novice took joy in serving as an acolyte at eight or ten Masses daily, frequently missing meals, incurring undue fatigue, and thus jeopardizing his health. As a result of this, we are told, he developed a pain in his side, and to relieve this pain, while kneeling at the foot of the altar, he would twist his body and press his hand to the side which pained him. This he did so frequently that the curvature and twisted ribs resulted.[38] According to another early Jesuit account a ladder fell on him causing the permanent dislocation of his spine.[39] Whatever the cause, he was given the best of medical attention by his superiors, but without success. With little hope of cure, Anchieta feared that he might not be able to continue in the Society.

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[24] Aguado Bleye, *Manual,* II, 16.

[25] Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas,* 152; Rodrigues, "Vida," 197; Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 545.

[26] Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 545.

[27] Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas,* 152.

[28] Franco, *Vida,* 2.

[29] Rodrigues, "Vida," 197; Franco, *Vida,* 2.

Meanwhile, from Brazil came repeated requests for additional missionaries, and the letters from Nóbrega and his Jesuit companions always spoke highly of the mild climate, the pure air, and the healthfulness of the simple diet of the distant outpost. "On the advice of doctors,"[40] it was decided to send Anchieta, and another invalid, Brother Gregorio Serrão, with the next Jesuit expedition to Brazil in the hope that their health would improve under its benign skies.[41] As events proved, Anchieta's illness was Brazil's gain, for he was to spend forty-four years of useful service there. His happy example led Nóbrega, always eager for more missionaries, enthusiastically to propose, perhaps at the suggestion of Anchieta himself, that Brazil be utilized as a sort of sanatorium for Jesuits of ailing health in Portugal.[42]

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[30] Franco, *Vida,* 2; Leite, *História,* II, 480.

[31] Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas,* 152; Rodrigues, "Vida," 197.

[32] Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas,* 152.

[33] *Idem.* At Coimbra Anchieta was a friend of Pedro Leitão, later Bishop of Brazil, 1559-1573.

[34] Leite, *História,* II, 480.

[35] Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas,* 153.

[36] CJ, III, 211, Anchieta to Diego Laínez, São Vicente, January 8, 1565.

[37] Leite, *História,* II, 481.

[38] "Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas,* 152-153.

[39] Vasconcellos, cited in Leite, *História,* II, 481; Franco, *Vida,* 3.

A handful of Jesuits, the first in America, had been laboring in Brazil under the leadership of Manuel da Nóbrega since 1549.[43] Six in all, they had accompanied Tomé de Sousa, the first royal governor, at the request of the Portuguese Crown, to help preserve Christian life among the people and to Christianize the native tribes.[44] Four more Jesuits arrived from Portugal in 1550. Meanwhile, a number of Portuguese residents were attracted by the work of the Society, and became able helpers as missionaries, interpreters, and craftsmen. A third expedition was sent from Portugal three years later, consisting of seven missionaries, the largest contingent thus far. Of this Anchieta was a member. The group left Lisbon on May 8, 1553, on the ship carrying Duarte da Costa, the newly appointed royal governor, to Brazil.[45] During the voyage, we are told, Anchieta humbly performed chores in the kitchen, firing the stove, and in the dispensary.

The armada, composed of four ships and 260 persons, arrived at Bahia on July 13. After the official welcome accompanying the arrival of the new governor, the Jesuits made their way to their humble residence where they were received by the three Jesuits stationed there. Nóbrega, the Jesuit leader, was in the south, in São Vicente, on a tour of inspection with Governor Tomé de Sousa. He had, in fact, despaired of success in Bahia for the time being; life was so scandalous due to the bad example of the secular clergy, and missionary work among the Indians was so difficult due to the attitude of the bishop. In the captaincy of São Vicente, on the foundations built by the Jesuit pioneer of southern Brazil, Leonardo Nunes, Nóbrega hoped to establish a great mission center from which the many tribes of the vast hinterland, as far as Paraguay, could be evangelized. Gathered at São Vicente were most of the Jesuits of Brazil. Hence, as soon as Nóbrega received word of the new arrivals in Bahia he sent Nunes by boat to conduct some of them south. Anchieta was among those selected. In October 1553 the party was on its way to São Vicente.[46] The trip proved to be a harrowing one. On November 20-21, the two small vessels in which the Jesuits were traveling were badly wrecked in a storm, one of the boats was entirely destroyed, and it is a wonder that any of the occupants survived.[47] Constant danger, Anchieta had soon learned, was part of the life of the missionary in Brazil. After a brief stop at Espírito Santo, on December 24 Anchieta and his four companions arrived at their destination.[48]

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[40] Rodrigues, "Vida," 198.

[41] Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 546.

[42] Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas,* 57, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, São Vicente, March 25, 1555; Leite, *Páginas,* 49. Anchieta himself made a similar suggestion shortly after his arrival in Piratininga (CJ, III, 63-64, 68, Anchieta to the Sick Brothers in Coimbra, São Vicente, 1554; *id.* to St. Ignatius, Piratininga, July 1554).

[43] A detailed account of Jesuit beginnings in Brazil may be found in Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (January 1942), 3-26, and his "Nóbrega of Brazil," *ibid.,* XXIV (July 1942), 151-187.

[44] Complete lists of the members of these early Jesuit expeditions, with dates of departure and arrival, may be found in Leite, *História,* I, 560-561.

[45] For further details of this expedition see Ruth Lapham Butler, "Duarte da Costa, Second Governor-General of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXV (July 1943), 165-166.

Anchieta, not yet twenty, was an excellent linguist, thus doubly valuable in Nóbrega's plans in the southern captaincy. During the greater part of the next fourteen years he was to play a great role as the interpreter and chosen companion of Nóbrega. At São Vicente, at São Paulo de Piratininga, at Iperoig, and at the founding of Rio, he was at all times working in the shadow of his superior. During the years in São Vicente, the more one follows Anchieta the more one admires Nóbrega's qualities of leadership, and the more one studies Nóbrega the more one appreciates the reasons for the unequaled fame of the self-effacing Anchieta in the memory of the Brazilian people.

Of Anchieta's dominant physical traits, in addition to those already indicated, the Jesuit chronicler Vasconcellos has left the following description:

> Father José de Anchieta was of medium stature, spare of frame,

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[46] CJ, III, 131, note 94.

[47] *Ibid.* Anchieta vividly describes the storm in his letter to the Father General, São Vicente, May 1560, CJ, III, 108-110. The description is of real literary merit.

[48] Leite, *História,* I, 272; Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 547; *id.,* "Anchieta na Capitania de São Vicente," 29.

but robust and vigorous of spirit; of dark complexion, blue flecked eyes, narrow face, well shaped nose, smooth shaven; and in his countenance honest, pleasant, and loveable.[49]

IV

When Anchieta arrived in São Vicente only nineteen years had passed since it had been granted as a captaincy by King John III to Martim Affonso de Sousa.[50] Along the hundred leagues or more of the coast line of the captaincy, colonization was sparse and in the pioneering stage. The old town of São Vicente, founded in 1532, had been destroyed by the sea eleven years before; the settlement Anchieta knew was at a safer point on the island, behind the hill of the Barbosas. At the foot of the hill was the Jesuit church. The town, with its forty or fifty households, offered a poorer appearance than Bahia. It did not live, it vegetated. The violent attacks of the Tamóios were continuous, and São Vicente and near-by Santos were inadequately fortified. The Indian trade, with all of its vicissitudes, attracted many into the hinterland, thus creating constant friction with the Indian tribes of the interior. Besides the Indian trade, sugar was the basis of wealth. There were a dozen sugar mills in the vicinity of Santos and São Vicente. At this time Santos, near most of the sugar plantations and with its more accessible port, was more prosperous than São Vicente. A trail had been opened by which trade was carried on between the two towns.

For a hundred some leagues, with the exception of these two incipient settlements, the coast was virtually uninhabited, with only vestiges of habitation by Tupiniquins, Tamóios, Miramomis, Guayanazas, and Carijós. These places were visited by the natives but were not really permanent settlements: to the north was Iperoig, and to the south Paranatiú, Ararapira, Iguape, and Cananéa. The natives lived inland, in places frequently difficult of access, and visited the coast primarily to fish and gather shells. On the plateau inland from São Vicente, on the edge of the forest was another nucleus of Portuguese settlement, Santo André da Borda do Campo, the old village founded even before São Vicente by the patriarch João de Ramalho. This isolated and arrogantly independent colony had long been attracting white settlers scattered throughout the plateau, and had been recently organized officially as a town with Ramalho as mayor and protector of the frontier. In the vicinity of Santo André were a number of small Indian *aldeias*.

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[49] Quoted in Leite, *História,* II, 486.

[50] The São Vicente scene at the time of Anchieta's arrival, as described in the following paragraphs, is fully presented in Anchieta's letters, CJ, III, 35-61; see also Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na Capitania de São Vicente," 39-44.

The Portuguese clung to the coast. Only Ramalho, precursor of the *bandeirantes*, with his numerous progeny and large mameluke and Indian following had dared establish a settlement on the plateau among the Indians. The Jesuits had already had trouble with Ramalho over a number of moral questions before the arrival of Anchieta. Ramalho's settlement, a powerful but sinister force, stood sentinel between the coast and the hinterland. With such a settlement guarding the frontier the permanency of the settlements of São Vicente were indeed precarious. On the hill of Piratininga, near-by Santo André, the Jesuits were soon to establish the springboard for the expansion of settlement onto the plateau and the opening up of the backcountry under orderly royal auspices. Here Anchieta was destined to begin his career as a missionary.

Nóbrega had already looked over the ground and had made his plans. On the plateau on the site of Piratininga, some thirty miles inland from São Vicente, he planned a Jesuit mission center threefold in purpose: as a base to seek out the Indians in their own *aldeias* apart from the bad example of errant whites on the coast; to wipe out the native and imported vices of Ramalho's colony, and reduce him to impotence by winning over the surrounding Indian tribes; and to establish a gateway to Paraguay, which he believed was ripe for conversion. He showed greater foresight than earlier civil authorities who, at best, preferred to avoid friction with the Indians by limiting Portuguese settlement and civilized life to the coastal fringe. Christianization of the whole hinterland, to be consolidated by extensive white penetration on the pattern of true Christian life, was Nóbrega's vision. Then alone could the land be held safe for the expansion of Christian civilization. This would mean combating Indian slavery, considered by many as essential to the economy of the region; combating vice among whites and Indians; disputing the authority of Ramalho on the plateau. This was the enormous task undertaken by the Jesuits in the south.

Father Nunes and Brother Diogo Jacome had been working out of São Vicente since 1549.[51] By 1553 they had already done missionary work on several of the interior *aldeias* with some success. A number of old settlers who knew the native Tupi language had been received as novices in the Society, and were assisting in the work. Nóbrega, guided by one of Ramalho's sons, had already visited the region and had chosen the site where he intended to establish a church and residence.[52] When Nóbrega sent Nunes to Bahia for more missionaries in 1553 it was to assure the establishment of the new residence on the plateau. The projected mission center not only became a reality, but the early martyrdom of Pedro Correia and João de Sousa, who lost their lives while blazing a trail to Paraguay, one of the aims of the vast enterprise, exemplified a dynamic spirit up to that time unknown in the captaincy.[53]

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[51] CJ, III, 315, "Informação do Brasil a de suas capitanias" (1584); Leite, *História,* I, 252-255; Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 46-47.

Early in January 1554, after Epiphany, some thirteen Jesuit brothers, including Anchieta, led by Father Manuel de Paiva, crossed the steep mountain trail to the site chosen by Nóbrega, the *aldeia* of Piratininga.[54] On January 25, 1554, on the feast of St. Paul, Father Paiva said Mass in a rude hut set up by the Indians of the locality, hence the place was dedicated to St. Paul—São Paulo, the future metropolis of southern Brazil.[55] The friendly Indian chief Tibiriça and his people settled on the northern side, and the natives of Caiubí on the southern side, sentinels of defense protecting the entrances to the new mission establishment. Like medieval nobles, the Jesuits thus isolated themselves on the heights of Piratininga, dominating the surrounding fields and protected from attack. Anchieta was one of the founders of São Paulo. Equally adept at writing in Latin, Portuguese, and Castilian, he was immediately assigned to the important task of preparing and drawing up the famed Jesuit letters and relations periodically sent to confréres and superiors in Portugal and in Rome. And so his letters are among the best sources for the founding and early history of São Paulo. Through them we can follow closely his own activity—a shadow ever in the background.

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[52] Leite, *História,* I, 271-272, 277; Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 48.

[53] A good account of the Correia-Sousa expedition may be found in Leite, *História,* II, 236-242. See also CJ, III, 74-77, 80-83, two letters of Anchieta dated Piratininga, 1555, and São Vicente, March 15, 1555.

[54] The exact number is uncertain. See CJ, III, 341, note 402; Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 30; *id.,* "Vida," CJ, III, 547-548.

[55] CJ, III, 38, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554; *ibid.,* 72, Anchieta to the Brothers of the Society in Portugal, Piratininga, 1554; *ibid.,* 321, "Informação do Brasil e de suas capitanias" (1584).

With characteristic candor and zeal, Anchieta describes the first residence of São Paulo as follows:

> From January to the present we have been living here, our numbers sometimes exceeding twenty, in an humble cabin the walls of which are constructed of poles together with clay, and covered with dry grass. It is fourteen paces long by ten wide, and performs the duties of school, infirmary, dormitory, refectory, kitchen, and dispensary. But we would not exchange this cabin for the most spacious quarters enjoyed by our brethren in other localities, for we have ever present in our minds that Our Lord Jesus Christ was born in a stable, between two brute animals, far more incommodious than our place of abode, and that He expired for us on a cross still less endurable.[56]

As may be seen, these humble quarters housed a veritable dynamo, for within those walls, and in the open space before it where religious services were held, were all the essential agencies of organized society, surrounded on every side by lawlessness and savagery.

The work of the Jesuits at São Paulo de Piratininga was assigned according to the aptitudes of each. And so Anchieta was assigned to teach. He had three classes. One was in Latin grammar, and since he was the only one who knew Latin, he taught his Jesuit companions, including his superior Father Paiva. He also taught a class of Portuguese children brought from São Vicente, and another composed of Indian children recruited from the neighboring region.[57] Prior to September 1554, some one hundred thirty natives, women and children for the most part, were receiving instruction in Christian doctrine.[58] Of these only thirty-six had been baptized, for as Anchieta wrote, "we do not believe that they should be baptized until after a long period of probation."[59] Classes were twice daily, morning and afternoon, after which hymns were sung and prayers recited in Portuguese and in the native tongue.[60] At night the children went from house to house singing praise to the God of the Christians. To facilitate the evangelization of the natives, Anchieta studied their language while he taught them, and with his knowledge of grammar he was soon able to draw up instructions and prayers, and compose hymns, poems, and plays in the native tongue. And he prepared a vocabulary and grammar of the native *língua geral* spoken along the coast which were used at Piratininga as early as 1555, and which became the textbook for the class in "Greek" required at the college of Bahia by order of Father Grã from 1560 on.[61] In view of the lack of textbooks for his various classes, Anchieta spent many a sleepless night preparing outlines by hand to distribute to his students. The classroom was so small that in the winter season it was soon smoked up in the attempt to keep it warm, and frequently classes were held out in the cold in preference to the stifling smoke. After class teacher and students would carry wood to supply warmth for the night.[62]

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[56] CJ, III, 43, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554.

[57] Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 51.

[58] *Idem.*

[59] CJ, III, 39, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554.

[60] *Idem;* CJ, III, 72, Anchieta to the Brothers of the Society in Portugal, Piratininga, 1554; *ibid.,* 85, Letter of Anchieta, São Vicente, March 15, 1555; *ibid.,* 93-94, Letter of Anchieta, Piratininga, December 1556.

Life among the Jesuit missionaries was one of true poverty, but in their ascetic zeal it seemed to agree with them. Beds were rude hammocks, kept warm at night by fires under them, Indian fashion. Anchieta, we are told by a contemporary, frequently spent most of the night keeping the fires going, that his companions might rest.[63] Ability to do some sort of manual labor as well as other tasks was essential for survival. Anchieta became adept at making *alpergatas,* a sort of sandal made of cordage from a native plant. He also served as barber and doctor, bleeding the sick and administering practical remedies, among both natives and whites. The missionaries mended with care what little clothing they had brought with them from Portugal or had pieced together on the frontier. Anchieta is said to have made himself a cassock out of old sail cloth dyed black.[64] Meanwhile, he was soon rivaling Nunes, famed among the natives as "The Flying Padre," in traveling great distances to visit Indian *aldeias* and to minister to the sick. This was the sickly hunchback from Coimbra! As he himself wrote, by working tirelessly there was no time to think about infirmities; adding that in Brazil "it is necessary to be a saint to be a brother in the Society."[65]

In July 1554, there were sixteen Jesuits distributed in the four settlements of São Vicente: at São Vicente, São Paulo,

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[61] CJ, III, 63-64, Anchieta to the Sick Brothers in Coimbra, São Vicente, 1554.

[62] *Ibid.,* 43, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554; Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas,* 155; Leite, *História,* II, 542.

[63] Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas,* 155.

[64] CJ, III, 63, Anchieta to the Sick Brothers in Coimbra, São Vicente, 1554; Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 52.

[65] CJ, III, 64, Anchieta to the Sick Brothers in Coimbra, São Vicente, 1554.

Maniçoba, and Geribatiba.[66] This was the largest concentration of activity in all Brazil. Of the thirteen co-founders of the new residence at Piratininga, after seven months only seven remained.[67] At the *aldeia* of Maniçoba the resident missionaries were "gathering little fruit as yet,"[68] wrote Anchieta, due to the stubbornness of the natives. Anchieta's skill in languages, his ability at almost any task, his piety, obedience, devotion, and religious zeal, gave him, despite his youth and the fact that he was not yet ordained, a conspicuous place in the new community. With Anchieta directing the instruction in the school, Antonio Rodrigues assisting in the teaching of the Indian catechumens in the native tongue, Affonso Braz and Diogo Jacome as carpenters (the latter also skilled at making rosaries and other religious articles), Mateus Nogueira at his forge, and the others at their various missionary tasks under the direction of Father Paiva, São Paulo began to live and grow. All this despite the fact that outside support for the mission establishment was limited almost exclusively to what few provisions the Indians supplied in exchange for the articles produced by the blacksmith Brother Nogueira.[69] The principal task of the missionaries was their struggle against vice and crime among Indians and whites alike, and against native cannibalism, drunkenness, poligamy, sexual degeneracy, and the charlatanry of the *pagés* or medicine-men. The hope for the future, as seen by all the missionaries, lay in the conversion and education of the children, not yet exposed to the depravities of their elders; and, relatively speaking, progress was being made.

Luiz da Grã arrived in São Vicente on May 15, 1555. The leader of the recently arrived Jesuit expedition of which Anchieta was a member, Grã had come as *colateral* to assist Nóbrega in directing the affairs of the Jesuit Province of Brazil. On his advice, it would appear, Nóbrega abandoned his Paraguayan dream, toward accomplishing which two Jesuits had recently been martyred, and the two leaders laid plans for the extension of mission work within the captaincy itself. They climbed to Piratininga, where Anchieta's school was named college. In January 1556, the new college was formally opened; a more spacious church and larger quarters had been completed by Anchieta's students under the direction of Father Braz.[70] Leaving Grã in charge of affairs in the south, on May 3 Nóbrega embarked for the capital, Bahia, to direct Jesuit activities in the north. Grã, the most highly educated person in all Brazil at that time, yet an humble and zealous missionary, took up residence at Geribatiba, an Indian *aldeia* six leagues from Piratininga, from which he vied with young Anchieta in scouring the region for souls.[71] Teaching, evangelizing, and performing countless acts of charity, Anchieta, meanwhile, remained in Piratininga until 1561, when the college was transferred to São Vicente.

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[66] Leite, *História,* I, 274-275, 276.

[67] CJ, III, 42, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554.

[68] *Ibid.,* 44.

[69] Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 548; Leite, *História,* I, 297.

The immediate obstacles to the permanency of São Paulo de Piratininga, namely, the enmity of many of Ramalho's people, and the constant attacks by the Tamóios and the hostile tribes of the hinterland, were eventually overcome. The first Jesuit missionaries to visit the region looked with horror upon the moral conditions at Santo André, and Ramalho and his people had looked with suspicion and resentment upon the intrusion of the Jesuits into their domain. Anchieta early spoke of the scandalous example of the people of Christian origin who lived there with their Indian spouses and mameluke offspring.[72] But Nóbrega, relying upon the influence of their Christian background upon their consciences, adopted a policy of conciliation, and as a result early enmity and friction were eventually nullified. There were, of course, always discordant elements among those who had joined Ramalho's colony solely to live among the natives as savages free from all restraints of Christian morality. They disturbed the peace of Piratininga, urging neophytes to move to Santo André where they could live as before, enjoying the taste of the human flesh of a captured enemy and sleeping with more than one wife. Despite this element, through Nóbrega's conciliatory policy, which pointed toward eventually correcting illegal unions and restoring Santo André to Christian life, the Portuguese on the plateau were eventually consolidated and the permanency of the nucleus of European colonization there was assured. For economic and defensive reasons, primarily, Ramalho, in 1560, moved his colony to São Paulo, thus merging the two settlements.[73] The increasing violence of the depradations of hostile tribes, and the economic distress at Santo André, appear from the few contemporary sources at hand to have been the determining factors in leading the people of Ramalho's colony, of their own volition, to incorporate themselves with the inhabitants of the Jesuit mission establishment. Anchieta adds that the move was also desirable in order to facilitate ministering to the people of Santo André, who, three leagues away, had to be visited from Piratininga.[74] The step was significant in the colonization of the southern frontier. Thus unified, the attacks of the Tamóios and other hostile tribes were successfully met and overcome. The great test was to come in 1562.

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[70] Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 548; CJ, III, 94, Letter of Anchieta, Piratininga, December 1556; *ibid.,* 95-96, note 84; *ibid.,* 325-326, "Informação do Brasil e de suas capitanias" (1584).

[71] CJ, III, 89-90, Anchieta's Trimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-August 1556; *ibid.,* 152-153, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560; J. Manuel Espinosa, "Luiz da Grã, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (July 1942), 195.

[72] CJ, III, 46-47, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554.

Meanwhile, Piratininga was becoming less and less isolated from the coastal settlements. In 1560 a new and safer road was built between Santos and Piratininga which was a great boon to the region. In homage to Anchieta—a familiar sight on that trail, barefoot or in sandals of cordage that he himself had made, with staff in hand, and in later years sometimes carrying over his shoulder a heavy bundle containing the articles necessary to say Mass—the road came to be known as "Father José's Road."[75] As the hinterland was thus drawn a step closer, the search for mines and the effort to evangelize tribes that lived farther inland were paving the way for the spread of settlement and the age of the *bandeirantes*. Already in 1555 Anchieta wrote from Piratininga:

> We desire one thing here above all else, and we constantly ask it of Our Lord, without which no fruit may be gathered in Brazil. That is, that this land be thickly populated by Christians to hold it in subjection; for the natives are so indomitable, and so accustomed to eat human flesh, and to recognize no authority, that it will be very difficult to become established permanently in any other way.[76]

Anchieta was a tireless worker, and daily his superiors came to rely upon him more heavily in the missionary work of the captaincy. Much of the work of evangelization on the plateau progressed under his direction, as he "carried on the battle, armed with the Divine Word."[77] Already his feats were becoming legendary among the people. In visiting surrounding Portuguese and Indian settlements, as he reveals in his letters, he and his companions braved rain and storm, crossing swollen streams at great risk, and traveling great distances through dark forests under the constant watch of beasts of prey; there was little time to think of suffering from hunger or illness. On one occasion Grã and Anchieta hastened to an Indian celebration where a human sacrifice was about to be performed. Although they were unable to prevent the killing of the victim, a three-year-old child, baptism was administered, and a sermon against cannibalism bore fruit for the planned feasting on the flesh of the child was abandoned.[78] Anchieta's letters speak frequently of the ease with which Indian neophytes returned to old pagan customs; he envied the more successful mission work begun around Bahia, and consoled himself and those to whom his letters were addressed by describing at length edifying cases of successful conversions. Christian teaching was slow and difficult among these tribes. He writes: "And so we work as best we can to teach them doctrine, bending every effort to separate them from their ancient customs; some believe, but most of them continue as before."[79]

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[73] The best discussion of this problem may be found in Leite's "A Fundação de São Paulo," in *id.*, *Páginas*, 81-97. See also Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 57-62.

[74] CJ, III, 170-171, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 12, 1561; *ibid.*, 321, "Informação do Brasil e de suas capitánias" (1584).

[75] Leite, *História*, II, 590, note 3.

[76] CJ, III, 77, Anchieta to the Brothers of the Society in Portugal, Piratininga, 1555.

Still, there was also a brighter side to the picture. The edifying cases that Anchieta describes are numerous; and he speaks frequently of the hope of reaching tribes reported to be more disposed to conversion. Among the native children there was some success:

> At this *aldeia* of Piratininga . . . we have a large school for children, the children of the Indians, where they are already being taught to read and write, and they abhor very much the customs of their parents.[80]

The problem was to prevent them from relapsing into paganism when they grew older, for:

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[77] *Ibid.,* 154, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560.

[78] *Ibid.,* 153-154.

[79] "There is no doubt that much could be accomplished if they [the surrounding Indians] were gathered together where they could be effectively instructed, as is now being done in Bahia, where, gathered in large *aldeias* by order of the governor, they rapidly learn Christian doctrine and the rudiments of the faith, and much fruit is gathered. This will continue as long as there are those who will keep them under control as we now hold them." *Ibid.,* 150. See also *ibid.,* 316, "Informação do Brasil e de suas capitanias" (1584); *ibid.,* 166, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 12, 1561. For a description of the Jesuit *aldeia* system in the vicinity of Bahia referred to here by Anchieta, see Espinosa, "Luiz da Grã," 194, 197-210.

[80] CJ, III, 85, Letter of Anchieta, São Vicente, March 15, 1555.

> The children themselves, whom we virtually nurse at our breasts with the milk of Christian doctrine, after having been well instructed follow their parents, first to their place of residence and then in customs.[81]

On special feast days the pageantry of the Church drew the Indians in large numbers to religious services, thus keeping them exposed, at least, to the gospel preached by the missionaries. Anchieta wrote:

> On the principal feast days, especially at the celebrations of the Nativity and the passion of Our Lord, they gather at Piratininga from all the surrounding regions and localities, nearly all arriving many days in advance. They attend the Divine Services and take part in the processions, in which, as they march, they whip themselves until the blood flows. . . . We also preach the Passion, inspiring great devotion and copious shedding of tears in our listeners, who also shed many tears at confession and communion. They also are taught especially to pray, and for this purpose we give them rosaries, so that by repeating the *Ave Maria* many times, they may come to have special love and devotion for Our Lady.[82]

Of life on the trail Anchieta writes:

> Almost continuously we are on the trail visiting the various settlements, both Indian and Portuguese, oblivious of rain and storm and swollen streams; many times traversing dark forests by night to assist the sick, but not without great suffering due to the roughness of the roads and the inclemencies of the weather. Especially since these settlements are so numerous; and they are so distant one from another that we are not enough to minister to all those who seek our assistance; and even if we were many more we would not be sufficient. Besides this, we who minister to the needs of others, are frequently ill and weak with pain, and fall faint by the road, scarcely able to travel any farther; and so, sometimes we are more in need of medical assistance than those who seek our aid. But nothing is too arduous to the one whose only aim is to honor God and to save souls, for which we would gladly give our lives.[83]

On these excursions Anchieta observed closely the flora and fauna of the land, and later wrote down observations which are now of inestimable value to Americanists. In these detailed descriptive narratives his keen observation and genial realism are unsurpassed. The forest was teeming with life, in all its paradoxes of beauty and ugliness, and endless struggle for existence. On the occasion of coming upon a large snake on the trail, Anchieta writes, in a philosophic mood:

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[81] *Ibid.,* 92, Letter of Anchieta, Piratininga, December 1556.

[82] *Ibid.,* 150-151, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560.

[83] *Ibid.,* 149.

> On one occasion, while returning to Piratininga from a certain Portuguese settlement, to which a Brother and I had been sent to teach Christian doctrine, I came upon a large snake coiled in the middle of the road. First making the sign of the Cross, I struck it with my staff, and killed it. Very soon after, three or four small snakes were wriggling along the ground, and we were wondering where they had come from so suddenly, for we had not noticed them before, when we saw others coming from the womb of the mother. I shook the dead body of the snake, and other offspring appeared, a total of eleven, all lively and perfectly formed, with the exception of two. I have heard tell by reliable persons of another in whose womb over forty were found. Still, in the midst of such a great multitude of them, Our Lord preserves us unharmed, and we confide more in him than in antidotes or any human power. We entrust ourselves solely to Jesus, Our Lord, the only one who can protect us from danger, walking as we do over ground covered with serpents.[84]

When not on some mission of mercy or evangelization, or on an embassy of peace to a hostile tribe, or settling public or private quarrels or problems of conscience, teaching, or writing, there were other tasks:

> Scarcely any of the arts necessary for our physical needs are not engaged in. . . . We make clothing, shoes, especially *alpergatas,* . . . which are very necessary because of the rough and frequently inundated jungle trails. It is often necessary to travel great distances waist deep in water, sometimes chest deep, in order to give medical assistance, cure wounds, bleed the sick; we build cabins and other constructions of mud, and engage in other similar tasks. And so, there is never time for idleness.[85]

The needs of evangelization and teaching divided Anchieta's attention between the coastal towns and São Paulo. Yet because of his linguistic attainments he was indispensable as a teacher, and in requesting more missionaries for Brazil Nóbrega wrote his superiors in Europe emphasizing the need of a good Latin teacher to replace him, so that he might be free to spend more time as a missionary among the many surrounding tribes not yet in the fold.[86] While on the coast he was engaged in instructing and ministering to slaves, Indians and whites, in São Vicente and on the sugar plantations and farms scattered along the coast.[87] Most fruitful was the work among the women and the slaves. In May and June of 1560 he was in São Vicente. During the Lenten season of 1561 he was in Piratininga, directing Lenten activities for which Indians had gathered from great distances. In June of 1561 he wrote a letter from São Vicente. In November of that same year he returned to Piratininga to play an important role in the suppression of an uprising on the part of the friendly Tupis, and a series of attacks by the hostile Tamóios which threatened the very existence of São Paulo.

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[84] *Ibid.,* 115, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, May 1560.
[85] *Ibid.,* 151, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560.
[86] Leite, *História,* II, 438.

The Indian wars of 1561-1562 can be traced in great part to the instigation of the hostile French traders established at Rio de Janeiro, and the presence of Villegaignon's colony off the Bay of Guanabara. Tamóios of the region, who were enemies of the Tupis, gained confidence in their strength and began to ascend the Paraíba and prowl about Piratininga, killing and stealing with increasing boldness and violence. This problem had always required constant vigilance, but now a crisis was definitely at hand. The destruction of Villegaignon's stronghold in 1560 was an important step in the solution of the problem; but French traders remained around the bay, egging-on the Tamóios and other Indian tribes hostile to the Portuguese. Anchieta wrote:

> As for the Indians of the interior, often we are at war with them, and they are a constant threat. . . . Also the hostile tribes, making continuous assaults upon the settlements, destroy the produce and carry off many captives.[88]

To be able to live in peace, and to open the way for conversion among the hostile Tamóios and their Tupi confederates, the residents of Piratininga, including some of mixed blood, decided to organize a military expedition against the enemy. Two Jesuits accompanied the expedition. Anchieta remained at Piratininga, leading the people in public prayer and penance. The campaign was successful, and encouraged by the victory it was now decided to make war on the enemy until all resistance was broken.[89] The importance of this decision became even more evident when at this time, unexpectedly, most of the hitherto friendly Tupis of the surrounding area joined the enemy in raids on the Christian settlements. Anchieta refers to this group as "thieves within our own house," for they were Indians who, having mingled among their tribesmen in Piratininga, knew the settlement well, its approaches, and the easiest points to attack.[90] These developments gave new courage to the enemy, who now planned the destruction of São Paulo de Piratininga, "which, on the edge of the frontier, is the key to the security of the Christian settlements along the coast."[91]

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[87] CJ, III, 169, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 12, 1561.

[88] *Ibid.,* 156, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560. On the relation of the French at Rio to this Indian problem at Piratininga, see *ibid.,* 157-160.

[89] *Ibid.,* 171-173.

A friendly Indian who lived among the enemy gave warning of the impending attack, and the defense of the settlement was carefully organized before the first blow was struck. Loyal Indians, armed with their weapons of war, gathered from seven or eight surrounding *aldeias*. And the loyal Tibiriçá, chief of the *aldeia* of Piratininga even before the Jesuits had established their mission there, ever faithful since his conversion to Christianity, ordered his people, who had established themselves in three small near-by *aldeias* when the residents of Santo André had moved to São Paulo, to abandon their labors in the fields and hasten to the defense of the threatened Christian settlement. The attack began on the morning of July 9, 1562, and the battle raged for two days at the approaches to the besieged stronghold. Most of the women and children sought protection in the Jesuit residence and church, "where some of the women of mixed blood spent the whole night in prayer, . . . and left the walls spattered with blood from the whips with which they flogged themselves, which, I am certain, played as important a part in the defeat of the enemy as the arrows and arquebuses."[92] Finally, after inflicting much damage, and wounding many of the defenders, the enemy fled, unable to dislodge the besieged. São Paulo was saved. Because of its precarious defense, this was perhaps the greatest threat to the survival of the settlement since its founding. Anchieta, in his classic account of the attack, praises highly the courageous leadership of Tibiriçá as a decisive factor in the victory. Historians agree that to the Jesuits goes the chief credit for saving the frontier outpost from destruction at this time. Southey writes: "The Jesuits saved Piratininga."[93]

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[90] *Ibid.,* 181, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, April 16, 1563. This is the famous letter which contains the classic account of the attack on Piratininga in 1562. Afrânio Peixoto refers to the letter as "an epic page in the history of Brazil. . . . It was read in the schools of Brazil to arouse national patriotism" (*Ibid.,* 23).

[91] *Ibid.,* 182. São Paulo de Piratininga was the second most prosperous settlement in the captaincy at this time; Santos was the most important, followed by São Paulo and São Vicente. (*Ibid.,* 178, Anchieta to the Father General, Piratininga, March 1562.)

[92] *Ibid.,* 184, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, April 16, 1563.

The war aided the missionary work of the Jesuits in more ways than one, for friendly Indians living in small *aldeias* in the environs of Piratininga now moved into the town for better protection, and there they could be more effectively Christianized.[94] The defense of Piratininga was a decisive step in the consolidation of Portuguese control in southern Brazil. The peace mission of Nóbrega and Anchieta to Iperoig the following year, long contemplated by Nóbrega, followed by the founding of Rio de Janeiro, at which Anchieta was also present, were related episodes in the same story. Meanwhile, in December 1562, and during the Lenten season of 1563, Anchieta, serving Nóbrega as interpreter, accompanied the latter in extensive missionary work among the Portuguese, slaves, and Indians along the coast, visiting Santos, São Vicente, and Itanhaén, on the southern frontier six or seven leagues south of São Vicente, as well as the many surrounding sugar plantations, farms, and isolated cabins.[95]

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(To be concluded in next number)

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[93] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil,* 3 volumes, London, 1810, second edition, 1822, I, 298.

[94] CJ, III, 186, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, April 16, 1563.

[95] *Ibid.,* 188-192.

DOCUMENTS

The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703

INTRODUCTION

It is quite generally recognized that the historical value of any map depends on the value of the sources whence the mapmaker derived his information. The sources of the manuscript or printed maps of North America made between 1500 and 1750 are for the most part unknown to us, except in a very general way. Many of them are evidently copied or compiled from other maps, but the sources of the originals are either quite unknown or else their trustworthiness and accuracy cannot be settled.

The importance of the particular map discussed in this article will be evident from our description of it. The importance of the document which is here printed for the first time lies in the fact that it contains a list made by the author of the map himself, of all the sources which he utilized in making his map. With few exceptions these sources are available today. The lower half of this map is of special interest to us, for it embodies the first scientific survey of the Mississippi River from its mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony. It also shows the earliest extant accurate delineation of the Gulf Coast from Apalachee Bay to the Mississippi, since "the map of the coast line from Pensacola to Mobile and from there to the mouth of the Mississippi, if Sigüenza y Góngora actually drew one, has not come to light . . ." (I. A. Leonard, *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693,* Albuquerque, 1939, 191, note 55).

The title of the upper half of the map representing North America between latitudes 39° and 78° reads as follows: Carte du Canada // ou de la // Nouvelle France // et des Decouvertes qui y ont été faites // Dressée sur plusieurs Observations // et sur un grand nombre de Relations imprimées ou manuscrites // Par Guillaume De l'Isle Geographe // de l'Academie Royale des Sciences // A Paris // Chez l'Auteur sur le Quai de l'Horloge a l'Aigle d'Or // avec Privilege de sa Maj.^{te} pour 20 ans // 1703. //

The lower half, from N. latitude 8° to latitude 44°, has in greater detail the five degree band which overlaps the upper part. This sheet is entitled: Carte du Mexique // et de la Floride // des

Terres Angloises et des Isles Antilles // du Cours et des Environs de la Riviere de Mississipi // Dressée sur un grand nombre de mémoires // principalem^{t} sur ceux de M^{rs} d'Iberville et le Sueur // Par Guillaume De l'Isle Géographe // de l'Académie Royale des Scieces. // A Paris Chez l'Auteur sur le Quai de l'Horloge // Privilége // du Roy po^{r} 20. ans // 1703. // It has been recently reproduced by Sara J. Tucker in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Volume II, Scientific Papers, Illinois State Museum, Part I, *Atlas,* Springfield, Illinois, 1942, pl. XIII.

The words "Par Guillaume De l'Isle" which appear in the titles of both sheets have been taken as evidence that Guillaume Delisle is the author of the map. In fact, it is generally believed that all the maps signed by Guillaume Delisle were made by him. The truth is, however, that the author of the first maps published under Guillaume's name was not Guillaume himself but his father, Claude Delisle. This conclusion was tentatively reached by Christian Sandler, in his *Die Reformation der Kartographie um 1700,* Munich and Berlin, 1905, 14-16. He wrote: "It has been the custom in the past to give all the credit to the son alone for the reform in map publishing initiated in 1700. Lelewel [J. Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen age,* 5 volumes in 4, Brussels, 1852-1857, II, 203] is the only one to speak of the Delisles." He then proceeds to discuss some of the letters of "Delisle" which appeared in the *Journal des Sçavans* and in the *Mémoires de Trévoux,* which seem to imply that the author of the maps and the globe of 1700, signed Guillaume Delisle, were the work of Claude.

Before giving the sources of the Delisle map of 1703, as they appear in the document printed below, we shall confirm Sandler's conclusion by presenting further evidence of the fact that Claude Delisle is indeed the author of not only the 1700 maps published under Guillaume's name, but also of the 1703 map itself and of the document printed herewith. That Guillaume collaborated with his father in the making of these maps is quite certain, but their true author is undoubtedly Claude. This was known in Paris, as is clear from the reply of the Sanson family to an article published in the *Mercure* shortly after Guillaume Delisle's death. (Cf. J. P. Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres . . .,* 43 volumes in 44, Paris, 1729-1745, XIII, 210-230.) In his last published paper which treats of the longitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, Guillaume Delisle calls attention to the fact that his father was the first to give it its approximately correct position, and Sandler concludes that the Delisle who wrote to Cassini in defense of certain changes introduced in "his" maps is Claude. Sandler is also inclined to think that the father may be the author of a few short notices published a little later, but he adds: "More than this cannot now be determined with absolute certainty"; and he further observes that Claude's contribution became smaller and smaller as the years went by.

It is beyond the scope of this article to determine the share of each in the sixty maps published under the name of Guillaume between 1701 and 1720, the year of Claude's death. It is enough for our purpose to outline briefly the proof that the rightful author of the 1703 map is Claude Delisle. Even if he had wished to establish this point, Sandler would have been unable to do so, because he lacked the Delisle papers and sketches.

The Delisle papers are in volume 115 of the Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), a volume composed of thirty-seven *cartons* (boxes) forming a sub-series known as "Manuscrits Delisle." These boxes "are in reality in-folio volumes, each made up of bundles containing a certain number of *pièces,* . . . On each *pièce,* is found, in the handwriting of Joseph-Nicolas Delisle, the number of the portfolio, the number of the bundle in the portfolio, and a letter indicating the place of the *pièce* in the bundle" (A. Isnard, "Joseph-Nicolas Delisle, sa biographie et sa collection de cartes géographiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Bulletin de la Section de Géographie,* XXX, 1915, 59-60).

Three boxes (ASH, 115-9, 10, and 11) contain the papers pertaining to North America. Box 9, Amérique Septentrionale, 1535-1729, contains, besides an occasional original document, extracts by Claude and Guillaume Delisle from printed and manuscript sources. Box 10, Amérique Septentrionale, 1694-1722, is similar in contents, but the majority of extracts are in the handwriting of Claude and a few notes prefaced to *pièce* no. 1, are by Joseph-Nicolas, as are also most of the documents in Box 11, Amérique Septentrionale, 1619-1754. We may add that Box 12, Amérique Méridionale, 1593-1714, consists mainly of copies of journals and narratives of voyages to South America, and extracts from printed works, comprising forty *pièces* in all, seven by Claude, one by Joseph-Nicolas, and the rest by Guillaume Delisle.

As Isnard says in the above-mentioned article, the maps of Delisle "housed in the Dépôt de la Marine are a part of the

'Petites archives,' comprising portfolios 71-75 of the series 'Cartes géographiques anciennes.' It is a collection of manuscript and engraved maps, in which the maps of Guillaume Delisle are more numerous than those of Joseph-Nicolas." Portfolio 75 contains maps of Africa, 1-124, and of America, 125-296. Several years ago the originals of all extant maps of America in this portfolio were photostated for the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada, and were then reproduced from these photostats for the E. E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, where the present writer studied them. They will be referred to as Archives Nationales (AN), JJ, 75, the call-number given them in Ottawa, although from the depot where they are found it would perhaps have been better to refer to these maps as in ASH, JJ, 75.

A few words should be said with regard to the above-quoted statement of Isnard. It may be that in all five portfolios of Delisle maps there are more manuscript and engraved maps by Guillaume, but in portfolio 75, which was especially studied in view of determining the authorship of the map of 1703, the vast majority of sketches are in the handwriting of Claude Delisle, and in his letter to Cassini, he refers specifically to some of these sketches as having been made by himself.

Further information about the authorship of the early maps published by Delisle is found in the lawsuit brought against J. B. Nolin who was accused of having plagiarized the Delisle mappamundi published in 1700. (The petition to the king is in BN, Mss. fr., 6348:3-16; a printed copy containing the history of the case, the report of the experts, and the verdict of the court is in BN, Mss. fr., 22119.) Besides the mappamundi, five general maps, namely, of Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, also appeared in print in 1700, as well as the gores of a globe. All of these are signed by Guillaume Delisle. Now the gores of the globe are the work of Claude Delisle as can be seen from the declaration of the Abbé (later Cardinal) Dubois: "I, the undersigned, the former tutor of my Lord the Duke of Orleans, hereby certify, by order of His Royal Highness, that in the conferences which the Sieur de l'Isle had with his Lordship on History and Geography during the years 1689 and 1690, he showed him the drafts of the globes which have since been brought to light by the Sieur Guillaume, his son, and which are dedicated to H. R. H., and that in the month of November 1699, he presented them to him together with the mappamundi. Done at Paris, December 10, 1705. [Signed] DUBOIS" (BN, Mss. fr., 22119, page 13 of the printed copy).

Although this document of Dubois was unknown to him, Sandler had deduced from a study of the maps of 1700 that they were the work of Claude. An examination of the letter to Cassini, in which the writer accused Nolin of having copied "his" mappamundi, will show that Claude is the author of this map. The draft of the letter, incidentally, is in Claude's handwriting. One of the characteristics of the mappamundi is the position of the mouth of the Mississippi River, which is placed much farther east than had been customary until then. In the letter to Cassini, the writer explains why he has given this new position to the mouth of the Mississippi. As we have seen, Guillaume later claimed that his father was the first to establish correctly the position of the mouth of the river.

As for the 1700 map of America, the following is to be said. Among the Delisle maps and sketches, the earliest dated manuscript map is entitled: "Carte de la Nouvelle France et des Paÿs voisins 1696" (AN, JJ, 75-130). It was later redrawn (*ibid.,* 128), and printed (*ibid.,* 128bis). On all these maps the course of the Mississippi River is exactly the same as on the gore of the globe dedicated to the Duke of Chartes "Par son tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur G. De l'Isle Geograp^{e}." The draft of this globe, as we learned from the Abbé Dubois, was already made in 1689, that is, when Guillaume Delisle was fourteen years old. From all this evidence we may legitimately conclude that Claude Delisle is the author of the globe, of the mappamundi, and of the map of America printed after 1696 which is the basis of the map of 1703. Moreover, the drafts of this map (AN, JJ, 75-253; ASH, 140-4; AN, JJ, 75-14 and 15) are all in the handwriting of Claude Delisle. We make no reference to the manuscript drafts (AN, JJ, 75-253bis; SHB, C 4040-4) or to the map dated 1702 in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, because these seem to have been made by professional draughtsmen. When we remember besides, that nearly all the regional sketches in AN, JJ, 75, were made by Claude Delisle, there is no room for doubt that he is the true author of the map of America of 1703. It is quite true that many of the extracts from printed or manuscript sources are in Guillaume's handwriting, but this is no indication that he is the author of the map.

We come now to a discussion of the sources of the 1703 map. The document printed below contains five pages in all, and the handwriting is that of Claude Delisle. We here reproduce the first part, which is strictly bibliographical, and covers nearly four pages in the original. The second part entitled: "Carte de la Nouvelle Espagne, de la Floride des Terres Angloises et des Isles de l'Amerique dressée sur les memoires les plus recens par Guill. de Lisle de l'Academie Roiale des Sciences," was printed with slight changes in the *Mémoires de Trévoux* for April 1703 (pp. 673-678) by way of announcing the publication of the lower sheet of the map. The publication of the lower sheet would naturally merit a special notice, for Delisle knew that this part of his map of America, especially with regard to the Mississippi and the Gulf Coast, was more accurate than anything ever published before.

From the titles of the drafts previously referred to, as well as from the area represented on each draft, one can see that between 1701 and 1703, Delisle had not yet made up his mind about the final form in which this map should be published. He ultimately decided on a map representing the same area as the 1700 map of America, and had it engraved on two sheets merely for the sake of convenience.

It is manifestly out of the question to indicate the exact way in which Delisle represents on the map the information found in each particular source. Many of the details found in these sources appear not on the 1703 map but on later ones. Neither is it practicable to discuss the value of his sources. All that can be done within the limits of an article is to identify these sources and refer to books or articles where their value is discussed.

The document is printed exactly as Delisle wrote it. Those words from his writings which are italicized and placed in parentheses are deleted in the original.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

DOCUMENT

Livres mémoires Cartes imprimées ou M. S. dont on s'est servi pour dresser la Carte de (*la N*^{le}. *France*) Canada du Mississipi et de la Floride qui a été presenté à Mgr le C^{te} de Pontchartrain, Examinez et rec les uns par les autres.

DE LA FLORIDE ET DU MISSISSIPI

1527 La relation des voiages de Pamphile de Narvaes et d'alvar Nugnez surnommé Cabeça de Vacca dans la Floride l'an 1527.

Claude Delisle did not know Spanish. The extracts from writings in this language, the Perea document, for instance, were made by others. In 1703, there was no published French translation of *La relacion que* *dio Aluar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca . . .*; cf. *supra,* p. 224; bibliography in J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* 8 volumes, Boston and New York, c1884-1889, II, 286-287, and in Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers of the Southern United States,* 10-11. There was, however, an Italian translation of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative published by Ramusio, *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi . . .,* 3 volumes, Venice, Vol. III, 1556, 310-330; and there was also an English rendering, or rather paraphrase, in S. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes,* London, 1625, IV, 1499-1556, but we do not know whether Delisle was acquainted with either of these two languages.

Two of his sketches express cartographically the "Route de Narvaéz et de Cabeça de Vaca depuis 1527 jusqu'en 1536 dans la Floride jusqu'au Mexique," AN, JJ, 75-229. Under the second title of this first sketch, there is the following reference in the handwriting of Joseph-Nicolas Delisle: "v. Laet descr, des Ind. Occid. liv. IV Ch. III. et Ramusio Tome 3, p. 310-331." This particular sketch is not based on the third chapter of Book IV of *L'histoire dv Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes Occidentales Contenant dix-huict Liures, . . .* Par le Sieur Iean de Laet, d'Anuers, Leyden, 1640; but the other sketch entitled "Route du voyage de Narvaez en Floride l'an 1528," AN, JJ, 75-230, is the text of De Laet in map form.

In the draft of his letter to Cassini, published in the *Journal des Sçavans,* May 10, 1700, 201-206, reprinted in J. F. Bernard, *Recueil de voyages au Nord,* 1732, IV, 555-568, Claude Delisle wrote: "J'ai lu avec attention les avantures de Pamphyle de Narvaes et de Cabeça de vacca, le voiage de Ferdinand de Soto tant celui qui a été composé par Garcilaso de la Vega que celui qui a été fait par un Gentilho. d'Elvas en Port. et qui fut tiré il y a quelques années de la Bibliotheque de Mr Buttau pour être donné au public, j'ai même fait une carte sur laquelle j'ai marqué les routes de Cabeca de vacca et de Ferdinand de Soto autant que l'obscurité de la matière me l'a pu permettre," ASH, 115-10:no. 17 B. To clarify the "obscurity" mentioned here, Claude Delisle prepared a set of "Questions sur la Route de Soto," and "Pour la route de Cabeça de Vacca," ASH, 115-10:no. 17 X; the latter questions deal almost exclusively with Cabeza de Vaca's odyssey across the continent from the Texas coast.

1539 La Conquête de la Floride par Ferdinand de Soto l'an 1539 écrite par un gentilhõe de Portugal de la ville d'Elvas qui accompagna Soto.

Delisle made use of the French translation entitled: *Histoire de la conqueste de la Floride, par les Espagnols, sous Ferdinand de Soto. Ecrite en Portugais par un Gentil-homme de la ville d'Elvas,* Paris, 1685. The translator M[onsieur] D[e] C[itry], was Samuel de Broë, Seigneur de Citry et de La Guette. The geographical information extracted from this book by Guillaume Delisle is in ASH, 115-9:no. 3.

Bibliography in *Final Report* of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission. 76th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 71, Washington, D. C., 1939, 4-11. For the use made by Delisle of the Gentleman of Elvas' narrative, cf. B. Boston, "The Route of De Soto: Delisle's Interpretation," MID-AMERICA, XXI (October 1939), 277-297, especially 287-289. Delisle made three sketches of the route of De Soto, two based on the complete text as translated by M. de Citry, AN, JJ, 75-231, and 231bis(2), and one based on De Laet's abridgment, *ibid.*, 231bis. These sketches, as appears from the passage quoted in the preceding entry, were already made in 1700.

1562 La même histoire écrite par l'Inca Garcilasso de la vega sur les memoires d'un au. qui avoit aussi été dans cette expedition.

Delisle made use of Pierre Richelet's French adaptation of the original Spanish: *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride ou Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la découverte de ce Pays par Ferdinand de Soto,* 2 volumes, Paris, 1670. Of this adaptation it has been truly said: "To any one at all acquainted with the courtly ponderosity of Garcilaso's production . . ., the condensation by Richelet, the only attempt to publish a translation in any language, is little other than a work of genius," *Final Report,* 8. In condensing the Spanish text, however, Richelet omitted no detail as to nomenclature, distances, or directions. I found no Delisle sketch based on the condensation of Garcilaso de la Vega's narrative.

1562 Les voiages et les établissemens faits en Floride par les S^rs^ Ribaud et Laudonieres en 1562 et les suivans et l'expedition faire par le s^r^ de Gourgues.

The sketch map which illustrates these voyages is entitled: "Tiré de la Relation de la floride (*de M^r^ Basanier*) ou sont décrits les voiages de Ribaut de Laudoniere & de Gourges," AN, JJ, 75-232. The words deleted enable us to identify the source to which this entry refers, namely, *L'histoire notable de la Floride . . ., Mise en lumiere par M. Basanier,* first published in Paris in 1586; on this compilation cf. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* II, 293. Below the title of the sketch map is a note by Joseph-Nicolas Delisle referring to the account of the French in Florida as found in De Laet, "liv. 4. Ch. 9 & suiv. v. p. 117 et suiv."

1667 Description d'une p^tie^ de la Floride sur les mémoires de M^rs^ Bristok et Grevius qui étoient établis sur les lieux.

I have been unable to identify the "mémoires" here mentioned, or to find any reference to their authors in any book or document.

Les relations de la N^le^ Fr dans quelques unes desquelles il est parlé de la R. de Missis. et des pais voisins sur le raport des sauvages.

Cf. *infra.*

1611 (*L'histoire de la N^{le} France par Lescarbot des en 1611 qui raporte Les ex*) voiages et les Découvertes de Jaques Quartier en 1534 de Champlain de Monts de Poutrincourt et autres l'année 1603 et les suivantes.

The words deleted identify the source utilized by Delisle: *Histoire de la Novvelle France, . . .* Par Marc Lescarbot, Paris, 1609. The geographical extracts are in ASH, 115-9:no. 4. On each one of the six sketches showing these voyages, Cartier, AN, JJ, 75-158, 159, 160; Champlain, *ibid.,* 162, 163; De Monts and Poutrincourt, *ibid.,* 171, Lescarbot is also given as the source.

1632 et suivantes. 39 relations de la N^{le} France par les Jésuites ou les Recollets depuis 1632 jusqu'a 1671.

There are twenty-six consecutive sketches based on these relations. The first two are entitled: "Voiage du Pere Theodat Recollet au pays des Hurons lan 1632," and "Retour du P. Theodat Recollet du pays des Hurons a Kebec l'an 1632," AN, JJ, 75-172 and 173; the book used is Sagard's *Le grand voyage dv pays des Hvrons, . . .,* Paris, 1632. The other twenty-four sketches have the geographical information contained in the Jesuit *Relations de la Nouvelle-France* from 1632 to 1672, AN, JJ, 75-174 to 187, and 189 to 198. All these sketches were made by Claude Delisle, but the "Extraits historiques et géographiques des missions de la Nouvelle France depuis 1632 jusqu'en 1672," in ASH, 115-9:no. 6, were made by Guillaume.

1669 Relation m. s. des voiages de M^{rs} d'Olier et Galinet en Canada ou il a plus^{rs} hauteurs observées.

Delisle had a copy, ASH, 115-9:no. 4, of "Ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de M[essieu]rs D'Olier et Galinée," BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:1-25, printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, I, 112-166. The anonymous sketch, AN, JJ, 75-152, is based on the map of Galinée for all that pertains to the three lower lakes, but later information has been added to it. P. J. Robinson, *The Canadian Historical Review,* XX (1939), 293, thinks this is Galinée's "second and more detailed map." I cannot concur with this opinion. There is an error in the reference which he gives, AN, JJ, 75-206; the latter representing Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, is a sketch map of the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Note. At this point Delisle repeated the entry dated 1667 above, and he listed the Galinée's document a second time, but he himself cancelled these two entries.

Description des Côtes de la N^{le} Fr. avec la Carte de M^{r} Denys.

The book referred to here is Nicolas Denys' *Description geographique et historique des costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale. Avec l'Histoire naturelle du païs,* 2 volumes, Paris, 1672. The sketch based on this book is entitled "Tiré de (*La d*) l'histoire naturelle du Canada ou N^{lle} france," AN, JJ, 75-166.

plus^{rs} cartes de divers endroits de Canada communiquées par M. l'abbé Bernou.

The "several" maps here mentioned cannot be identified with certainty. I am inclined to believe that Bernou's sketches of the Great Lakes are meant. Cf. J. Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys,* Chicago, 1938, 10-12, 34-35; *id., Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* Chicago, 1941, 111-119. See *ibid.,* 54, for the relations between Bernou and Delisle.

Cartes de Canada de M. Franclin.

It is impossible to say precisely which maps of Franquelin are meant. In the Delisle-Nolin lawsuit, a "copie de la carte de tout le Canada faite par le sieur Franclin," and a "copie d'autre carte du même Autheur representant le pais des Sioux le long du Mississipi," were presented as evidence, BN, Mss. fr., 22119, p. 5, of the printed copy. Cf. also "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV (January 1943), 69.

Carte marine de l'embouch. de la R. de S^{t}. Laurent par M. des Hayes.

The full title of this map will be found in G. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France, Supplément à l'ouvrage de M. Harrisse,* Paris, 1885, 31, no. 83. Marcel adds in a note: "La date approximative est donnée par l'observation de la variation du compas à Québec 1686"; the letter which Deshayes sent to Seignelay together with this map is dated November 14, 1685, ASH, 111-1:no. 4. In the Delisle-Nolin lawsuit a "reduction de la Carte de la rivière de Saint Laurent faite par le sieur des Hayes" was also presented as evidence. AN, JJ, 75-144, is the call number of a sketch map, attributed to Deshayes, showing the St. Lawrence between Montreal and Detroit. On Deshayes himself, cf. J. E. Roy, "La cartographie et l'arpentage sous le régime français," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* I, 1895, 36; [P.-G. Roy], "Jean Deshayes, hydrographe du Roi," *ibid.,* XXII, 1916, 128-138, and XXXVIII, 1932, 281.

1673 Découverte du Mississipi par le S^r Joliet en 1673 écrite par le P. Marquette qui y etoit.

The source thus described is a book by Melchissédec Thévenot, entitled *Recueil de voyages de Mr. Thevenot,* Paris, 1681. From this book are taken the geographical extracts by Guillaume Delisle, ASH, 115-9:no. 9. The identity of this source is further established by a reference to Claude Delisle's sketch map, AN, JJ, 75-235. This map is entitled: "Voiage du P. Marquette et de M^r Joliet dans la Louisiane depuis le 42 degre jusqu'au 33^e (fait en 1673)," and immediately below the title is the following note in the handwriting of Joseph-Nicolas Delisle: "tiré du receuil des voyages de Thevenot imprimé à Paris en 1681 in 8°." That Marquette was not the author of this narrative is a fact of which Claude Delisle was not aware.

Carte m. s. de cette découverte du meme Joliet présentée a M. de Frontenac autre que celle qui est dans le livre imprimé qui m'a été communiquee par M. l'abbé Bernou.

The printed book referred to is Thévenot's *Recueil,* and the map which it contains is well known. The first map mentioned is one made by Claude Bernou himself, ASH, 115-10:no. 17 X, erroneously called "Jolliet's smaller map," SHB, B 4044-49, facsimile in G. Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI^e au XVII^e siècle avec le texte explicatif,* Paris, 1892, pl. 27. This is a reduction of the misnamed "Jolliet Larger Map," SHB, B 4044-37. I formerly thought that the author of this map might have been Hugues Randin; cf. *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* 109. But a closer study of Franquelin's cartographical work led me to the conclusion that he, rather than Randin, was its author; cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV (January 1943), 54.

1683 Decouverte de la même R. par M. de la Salle écrit par le P. Hennepin en 1683 sous le titre de Description de la Louisiane.

This entry explicitly contains the title of the source referred to. The geographical information extracted from it by Guillaume Delisle is in ASH, 115-9:no. 9. Three sketches showing the voyages of Father Hennepin were made by Claude; cf. *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* 154.

Carte de Mississipi faite par M. de la Salle.

This very important map is no longer extant. Only Franquelin's version of 1684 (cf. MID-AMERICA, XXV (January 1943), 59-61) and Minet's "Carte de la Louisiane," SHB, C 4044-4, have come down to us. The latter map is reproduced in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* pl. VII. On La Salle's maps, cf. *Some La Salle Journeys,* 34, note 51.

Journal ms très ample du voiage de M. de la Salle par mer à la Riv. de Missis. en 1684 écrit par le s^r (*Jouventel*) Joustel qui m'a été communiqué par M. d'Iberville.

For an analysis of this manuscript, cf. J. Delanglez, ed., *The Journal of Jean Cavelier. The Account of a Survivor of La Salle's Texas Expedition 1684-1688,* Chicago, 1938, 11 ff.

Le même voiage écrit par M. d'Amanville qui y étoit allé avec M. de Beaujeu.

An extract taken by Claude Delisle from this journal of M. d'Esmanville, ASH, 115-9:no. 12 B, is printed in Margry, II, 510-517.

Relations faites par N. sur les mémoires de M. Cavelier frere de M. de la Salle et qui l'avoit accompagné dans ce voyage.

On this entry cf. J. Delanglez, "The Authorship of the Journal of Jean Cavelier," MID-AMERICA, XXV (July 1943), 220-221.

Quelques instructions données de vive voix a l'auteur par lesd. Sieurs Cavelier d'Amanville et de Beaujeu.

About this entry we have the following data. Claude Delisle wrote to Cassini: "J'ai entretenu M. de Beaujeu et Mr. Cavelier frere de M. de la Salle et qui l'a accompagné dans son dernier voiage, j'ai (*outre*) u (*quelques*) plusieurs conferences avec feu Mr. d'Amanville (*qui a été*) prêtre habitué à St. Sulpice et qui a été dans cette expédition, je l'ai dis-je entretenu plusieurs fois sur cette matière avant et après son depart. . . . Quoiqu'il en soit Mr. de la Salle en allant à cette baye de St. Louis [Matagorda Bay] fit route presque toujours droit à l'ouest comme je l'ai appris de Mrs de Beaujeu et d'Amanville. . . ." ASH, 115-10:no. 17 B. This passage together with the above entry is a further indication of the fact that Claude, and not Guillaume Delisle, is the true author of the map of 1700. In 1684, when M. d'Esmanville left Paris to go with La Salle to the Gulf of Mexico, Guillaume Delisle was nine years old.

2 Cartes de 2 endroits de la Cote faites par le sr. Minuty qui etoit sur le même vaisseau.

Delisle here refers to two tracings which he himself made. The first one, in duplicate, is entitled: "Plan de l'entrée du Lac ou on a laissé M. de la Salle . . . Minuty delineavit," AN, JJ, 75-258; the duplicate is in color. The other tracing is entitled: "Plan de la Coste de la Floride la plus Occidentale depuis 27 jusqua 29 deg. de latitude . . . Minuty fecit," AN, JJ, 75-233. The Minuty here mentioned is the engineer Minet. The originals are in ASH, 138-1-1, and 138bis-1-1 respectively. Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville also made a copy

of the second, BN, Ge DD 2987-8839. Besides securing Beaujeu's report on La Salle's voyage to the coast of Texas (cf. W. J. O'Donnell, "La Salle's Occupation of Texas" MID-AMERICA, XVII (April 1936), 120-124), Don Pedro Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador to England, also obtained copies of these two maps, AGI, Seville, 61-6-20 (2) and (3). The French legends of the originals are translated into Spanish. Cf. P. Torres Lanzas, *Relación Descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos &, de México y Floridas existentes en el Archivo General de Indias,* 2 volumes, Seville, 1900, I, nos. 63 and 64.

Carte ms. du Golfe de Mexique communiquée par M. de Beaujeu.

Neither this map nor a tracing of it is among the Delisle sketches. Claude Delisle wrote to Cassini in 1700: "J'ai veu deux cartes ms. du pais l'une de la cote qui vient de Mr. de Beaujeu . . .," ASH, 115-10:no. 17 B.

Carte ms. de M. de Louvigny de la Riv. de Mississipi et des environs sur les relations de plus^{rs} françois qui etoient allez avec M. de la Salle accompagnée de plusieurs remarques.

Several pages of notes taken by Guillaume Delisle are entitled "tiré de la Carte de Mississipi de M. de Louvigny," ASH, 115-9:no. 14. Louvigny's memoir is printed in Margry, IV, 9-18. His map, SHB, C 4040-10, is reproduced in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* pl. XIV.

Carte d'une p^{tie} des Cotes qui sont vers l'embouchure de la R. de St. Laurent avec une instruction sur les dist^{ces}.

This map is AN, JJ, 75-204.

Carte de la Baye de Hudson (*et de la terre*) par le S. Joliet.

The call number of the original which is dated 1684 and dedicated to Lefebvre de la Barre, Governor of New France, is ASH, 123-8-1.

au. carte de la Baye de Hudson par un pilote.

This "other map" may be the "Carte des Costes de l'Amerique Septentrionalle et des terres nouvellement decouvertes par Pierre Alemand . . .," of 1687, ASH, 124-8-1.

au. carte de la meme baye par M. d'Iberv.

This is one of the four maps of Hudson Bay which were presented as evidence in the plagiarism lawsuit; BN, Mss. fr., 22119, p. 5 of the printed copy.

au. Carte ms du Sr. Joliet d'une p^{tie} du Canada ou est marqué son chemin depuis Tadoussac jusqu'à la Baye de Hudson.

The map here referred to was made by Jolliet upon returning from his voyage to Hudson Bay. It is dated Quebec, November 9, 1679. The original is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Cartes,* Vol. 388 (153), facsimile reproduction in A.-L. Pinart, Recueil de Cartes, *Plans et Vues relatifs aux Etats-Unis et au Canada . . .,* Paris, 1893, pl. 23. Cf. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France,* 9, no. 10. The information contained in all these Hudson Bay maps is embodied in the draft AN, JJ, 75-141.

Nouvelle description de la Gaspesie par le même auteur et de la même année.

The words "by the same author and of the same year," refer to the next entry. The book is the *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspesie,* by Chrestien Le Clercq, Paris, 1691. The pertinent geographical extracts are found in ASH, 115-9:no. 7.

1691 Premier établissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France par le P. le clerc recollet en 1692 ou est décrit le même voiage de M. de la Salle sur les mémoires du P. Anastase.

This refers to Chrestien Le Clercq, *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France,* 2 volumes, Paris, 1691. Geographical extracts in ASH, 115-9:no. 7. Two of Claude Delisle's sketches, AN, JJ, 75-168 and 169, based on the text of Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith,* cover the area from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Illinois River.

Remarques du sr Jouventel sur cette relation.

Cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavelier,* 9-11.

Carte m. s. des environs de Mont Louis sur la R. de S^{t} Laurent dressée sur les mémoires de M. Riverin.

I cannot find this map among the Delisle sketches.

(*Plus^{rs} remarques route observ. et distances tirées de communiquées*) Plus^{rs} (*au.*) routes distances et observations tant p^{r} la Côte que p^{r} le dedans du pais communiquées ou tirees de vive voix par M de Courtemanche, de plus^{rs} autres personnes qui ont été dans le pais.

The sketches AN, JJ, 75-205 and 300 embody information received from the sources described in this entry. "M. de Courtemanche" is Augustin Le Gardeur de Courtemanche; cf. P.-G. Roy, *Inventaire de Pièces sur la côte de Labrador . . .,* 2 volumes, Quebec, 1940-1942, I, 16-17.

1697 Les découvertes de M. de la Salle écrites par le P. Hennepin imprimées en Holl. et dediées au feu Roi d'Anglet. Guill. III, l'an 1697.

This is the *Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays situé dans l'Amerique entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale, . . .* of Father Hennepin, Utrecht, 1697. Geographical extracts in ASH, 115-9:no. 9.

1697 Dernieres decouvertes de l'Amerique sept. mises au jour par M. de Tonty en 1697.

This refers to *Dernieres decouvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale de M. de la Salle; Mises au jour par M. le chevalier Tonti, gouverneur du Fort St Louis, aux Islinois,* Paris, 1697. Cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavelier,* 20-22. For the geographical extracts by Guillaume Delisle, see ASH, 115-10:no. 3.

Remarques M. s. sur cette relation par le sr Jouventel.

Pertinent passages from these "remarks" of Joutel are quoted throughout *The Journal of Jean Cavelier.*

Journal m. s. du l^er^ voiage de M. d'Iberville à la riv. de Missis. l'an 1698 ecrit par lui-même.

This journal was copied by Guillaume Delisle, ASH, 115-10:no. 4, and is printed in Margry, IV, 131-209.

Autre journal du même voiage par le P. Anastase Recollet.

This journal seems to be lost.

Extraits de quelques lettres de M. d'Iberville (*sur le*) et de quelques gardes marines sur le même sujet.

Some of Iberville's letters relating to his first voyage are in Margry, IV, 87-89, 90-91, 95-100, 100-103, 116-128. Extracts by Claude Delisle from a letter of a garde-marine, Hannivel de Ste. Colombe, dated Rochefort, July 4, 1699, are in ASH, 115-10:no. 6. "Enfin j'ai aussi la copie d'une lettre de M. de Ste. Colombe qui étoit sur ces vaisseaux," draft of Claude Delisle's letter to Cassini, ASH, 115-10:no. 17 B. He may also have had the "Plan de la Coste de la Floride . . .," by the garde-marine Ste. Marie, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21399:377, or a copy of two variants of this map in ASH, 138-6-2 and 3. Cf. Perinet to Pontchartrain, May 4, 1700, ASH, 111-1:no. 20.

(*Voiag*) Lettres de Mrs de Montigny de St. Cosme et de la Source missionaires contenant leur voiage de Kebec à la R. de Missis. l'an 1699.

Claude Delisle copied four letters written by these three missionaries, ASH, 115-10:no. 13. The journal of M. de St. Cosme was translated into English from the original by L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699,* New York, ©1917, 342-361. The French text of this journal published by Shea in the Cramoisy series, no. 15, *Relation de la Mission du Mississipi du Seminaire de Québec en 1700,* New York, 1861, is from a defective copy in AN, K 1374:no. 81. In the same publication is the letter of Thaumur de la Source, dated Chicago, April 19, 1699, and one of the two letters of M. de Montigny addressed to a "Rev. Mother"; both are from AN, K 1374: nos. 83 and 84. The other letter of M. de Montigny dated "Mississipi, May 6, 1699," has not been published.

1700 Journal du 2 voiage de M. d'Iberville a la même Riv.

Geographical extracts by Guillaume Delisle with supplement by Claude in ASH, 115-10:no. 4. Margry, IV, 395-435, printed this journal.

Carte de la partie basse de Mississipi et d'une partie de la Cote communiquee par M. d'Iberville avec les instructions pour (*evite*) corriger les fautes qui y sont.

This map is perhaps the sketch entitled "Embouchure du Mississipi," AN, JJ, 75-244.

lettre de M. le Sueur qui a fait le même voiage en forme de Journal écrite de 45 lieues de l'embouchure de Mississipi.

A copy of this letter is among the papers of Father Léonard de Ste Catherine de Sienne, BN, Mss. fr., 9097:101-104v. On these papers see "Tonti Letters," MID-AMERICA, XXI (July 1939), 210-212.

Journal du Chevalier de Bouloc garde marine qui étoit sur les memes vaisseaux.

Extracts from this journal by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10:no. 8; comments on the information therein are scattered throughout ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Z.

Lettres historiques imprimées en Hollande sur le même sujet.

I have been unable to identify this printed collection of letters.

Voiage de Mr. de Bienville des Taensas aux Yatachés.

A copy of this document is in ASH, 115-9:no. 12. Margry, IV, 432-44, printed this journal from another copy of it in the Moreau de Saint-Méry Collection.

(*Journal*) Mémoires de M. d'Iberville dans son 3^{e} voiage.

The geographical extracts taken from Iberville's journal by Claude

Delisle are in ASH, 115-10:no. 19; the journal is printed in Margry, IV, 503-523.

Le voiage de M. de Tonty aux Chactas et aux Chicachas.

Extracts by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Z. He also made extracts from two letters of Tonti to Iberville, dated February 23 and March 14, 1702, respectively, ASH, 115-10:no. 20.

Quantité de remarques apprises de vive voix de M. d'Iberville ou tirées de ses brouillons longitudes et Latitudes observées ou estimées par lui-même, distances qu'il a pareillement estimees ou qu'il a apprises des sauvages.

These "remarks" are in ASH, 115-10:no. 17 *passim,* especially in *pièces* Q, Y, and Z. In the latter document a table of longitudes and latitudes is followed by comments which show how closely Claude Delisle studied the information supplied by the explorer: "Il ne faut pas aveuglem. deferer a ces long. et lat. car si la pointe de la Mobile est à 30 d. 5 m. de lat. l'Isle du massacre ne peut pas etre à 30 d. 7 m. plus [sic] qu'elle est plus N. que cette pointe."

Divers croquis faits par lui-même de l'embouchure de Mississipi de la Baye et de la Riviere de la Mobile et du port de Pensacola.

AN, JJ, 75-239, 240, 241, 244, 244bis, 250, are sketches of these different places on the Gulf Coast, but I am unable to identify those made by Iberville himself.

Memoires de M. le Sueur qui a remonté la Riv. de Missis. depuis le portage des égarez jusqu'environ 100 l. plus haut que la R. St. Pierre et cette même Rivière de St. Pierre jusqu'a la R. verte, qui est ensuite descendu par ces mêmes Riv. jusqu'à la mer et qui a marqué la boussole à la main leurs tours et leurs detours les Isles et les au. Riv. à droite et à gauche qui a pris hauteur en plus^{rs} endroits et qui a demeuré 9 ou 10 ans parmi les sioux.

In the notice written by Claude Delisle, which he sent to the editors of the *Mémoires de Trévoux,* the geographer acknowledges his special debt to Pierre-Charles Le Sueur. Years later, when his son, Joseph-Nicolas, went through the papers and maps of his father and of his brother Guillaume, he referred to Le Sueur as "cet habile voyageur," note on the map AN, JJ, 75-155.

A few years ago while I was gathering materials for a book on the Cartography of the Mississippi Valley, 1673-1703, Dr. W. G. Leland kindly put at my disposal a manuscript inventory of the Archives du Service Hydrographique made by D. W. Parker. In the copy book in which the Delisle papers are inventoried is the following entry: "ASH, 115-10. Amérique Septentrionale, 1694-1722, no. 9, Mémoires de Mr. Le Sueur." The contents of these memoirs are then given:

1°) Son départ du Cap François dans l'Isle de St. Domingue, le 22 Décembre, 1699, d'où il est arrivé à l'embouchure du Mississipi en Janvier 1700.
2°) Depuis le 8 Janvier jusqu'au 2 Mars 1700.
3°) La route en remontant le Mississipi depuis le 30° jusqu'à 44° 13', depuis le 2 Mars jusqu'au 7 Octobre 1700.
4°) Le retour de la Rivière Verte jusqu'à l'embouchure du Mississipi, depuis le 14 Mai 1701 jusqu'au 10 Août.
5°) Son départ du fort des Biloxi le 16 Janvier 1702 pour la Mobile et Pensacola, de là à la Havane le 28 Avril 1702, d'où il arrive en France le 20 Juin 1702.
6°) Des remarques et observations sur son voyage.
7°) Autres remarques tirées de vive voix de M. Le Sueur par mon frère et mon père l'an 1699, — item l'an 1702. [This title was given by Joseph-Nicolas Delisle.]
8°) Extraits par Claude Delisle. Ces extraits sont tirés des lettres et Journaux suivants de Le Sueur:
1700, Février 27, à 45 lieues de l'embouchure du Mississipi. [Cf. *supra;* a copy of this letter is in BN, Mss. fr., 9097:101-104v.]
1700, Avril 4, Aux Natchez. Journal de route du 8 Janvier 1700 au 4 Avril. [An extract from this journal is in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395: 5-13.]
Suite du Journal du 9 Avril 1700 au 25 Juin 1700 (dans lettre non datée).
Suite du Journal du 12 Juillet 1700 au 27 Juin 1702.

These memoirs of Le Sueur and the extracts by Claude Delisle make up one hundred closely written pages. Of this material only the following items are at present available in this country. The two documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale which were photographed for the Library of Congress; some notes appended to the Relation of Pénicaut, Margry, IV; some extracts in the sixth volume of this compilation; and the abridgment of Le Sueur's journal in Bénard de la Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Français à la Louisiane,* New Orleans, 1831. Owing to the conditions prevailing in France since 1939, it was impossible to have these documents photographed. Unfortunately, when the papers in this repository were being transcribed or photographed for the Library of Congress, Le Sueur's report which is that of the first scientific survey of the Mississippi River from its mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony was overlooked.

This oversight was somewhat remedied by Dr. Karpinski who had a photograph made of a Delisle map of the whole course of the Mississippi based on Le Sueur's memoirs. The map divided into five parts shows the course of the river from its headwaters at latitude 49° to the Gulf. Only the mouth of most of the tributaries is shown, but the full length of some of the affluents is drawn. The map is entitled: "Carte de la Riviere de Mississipi sur les memoires de M^{r} le Sueur qui en a pris avec la boussole tous les tours et detours depuis la mer jusqu'a la Rivière S^{t} Pierre, et a pris la hauteur du pole en plusieurs endroits Par Guillaume De l'Isle Geographe de l'Academie Royale des Sciences 1702," ASH, 138bis-3-2. The course of the Mississippi River as it appears on this special map was inserted in that of 1703.

In the French Archives there are three variants of this Delisle map of the Mississippi River. On the one in SHB, C 4040-27, some of the tributaries are omitted; neither Lake Superior, nor "Lac des Assinipoils" are shown, but the Gulf Coast extends to Pensacola Bay while on the original Delisle map the easternmost geographical feature is Bay St. Louis. Near the headwaters of the Mississippi, represented by small lakes, is the following legend: "Sources du Mississipi aux Environs de 48 deg^{r} de Latitude Sep^{e} et de 275 de Longitude." The second variant, reproduced in Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes,* pl. 39, is of a much later date as can be seen from the inscription: "Les Bayogoulas selon la carte executée en 1733." The third variant, ASH, 140-1-4, is by Philippe Buache who inserted the course of the Mississippi as it appears in the original Delisle map in his "Carte Reduite des Isles de l'Amerique et du Golfe du Mexique, . . . MDCCXXIV." The river is shown from its mouth to latitude 40°, the top of the map.

Extraits de plusieurs lettres de M. de Tonty (*communiquez par M. de villermont*) avec un croqui de la Riv. de Mississipi et de celles qu'elle reçoit (*communiquez par M. de Villermont.*)

This refers to two letters of Tonti dated February 28 and March 4, 1700, respectively. Extracts from the first and a copy of the second, by Claude Delisle, were published in MID-AMERICA, XXI (July 1939), 215-235. With regard to the "croqúis" mentioned in the above entry, see *ibid.,* 214-215; the map by Jacques Bureau is reproduced in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* pl. XII.

Extraits de quelques autres lettres sur la Riviere d'Ouabache, et sur la route que tiennent les Anglois de la Caroline pour aller aux Chicachas et jusqu'à la Riv. de Mississipi, tirez des mémoires de M^{rs} d'Iberville et le sueur.

Some of the information based on these extracts will be found in ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Y and Z. Cf. also the narrative of Sauvolle dated August 4, 1701, AC, C 13A, 1:319, translated in D. Rowland and A. G. Sanders, eds., *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1701-1729, French Dominion,* Jackson, Mississippi, 1929, 14-15. Claude Delisle also made extracts, ASH, 115-10:no. 16, from a Sauvolle document which includes the narrative of this officer's voyage to the Tohome on the Mobile River, and which deals with notable happenings on the Gulf Coast between June and November 1701.

(*Plusieurs*) Quelques instructions qui m'ont été données par le P. Du Ru, sur (*la cote*) une p^tie^ de la Cote et sur les Isles, (*sur la position de quelques peuples*) et sur le voiage qu'il a fait aux Colapissas et sur la position de quelques au. peuples.

Besides these "instructions" Delisle had Father Du Ru's journal from which he made a long extract; cf. J. Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana (1700-1763),* Washington, D. C., and New Orleans, 1935, ix, 9 ff. Toward the end of his journal Du Ru narrates the journey to the Acolapissa villages.

P^r^ LES TERRES DES ANGLOIS

Les voiages de Narvaes de Soto de Ribaud de Laudonniere et au. dont il a été parlé ci d^t^

(*Description d'une P^tie^ da la Flor.*)

Mémoires de M^rs^ Bristok et Grevius dont il a pareilem. été parlé.

The items here referred to have already been described.

Livre intitulé les Colonies angloises en Amérique.

I have not been able to identify this book.

Plusieurs Cartes (*de l'Amerique septent^ale^*) faites par les Anglois de l'Amérique septent^le^ de l'Amérique Angloise, de l'Empire Anglois de la Terre Neuve (*3 de la Caroline de divers auteurs, de la Pensylvanie*) du Nouveau Jersey, de la Pensylvanie, et 3 de la Caroline de differens auteurs.

The reduced copies made by Claude Delisle enable us to identify the maps referred to in this entry. Thus AN, JJ, 75-210, is a copy of the *Carte Nouvelle de l'Amerique Angloise . . . Dresse sur les Relations les Plus Nouvelles Par le Sieur S,* a Amsterdam, Chez Pierre Mortier Libraire. This map is not dated, but it appeared, no. 75, in the second volume of *Le Neptune françois* entitled *Suite du Neptune françois ou Atlas Nouveau des Cartes Marines. . . .* A Amsterdam, Chez Pierre Mortier, Libraire, M. D. CC.—The sketch AN, JJ, 75-213 is entitled "Reduction de la Carte du New Jersey de J. Seller & Guil. fisher."—For Pennsylvania, he used the map of Thomas Holme, AN, JJ, 75-217. Under the title of this map Claude Delisle noted: "Reduction de la Carte de Pennsylvania a la moitié Je n'ay retranché que les heritages et les noms des particuliers."—With regard to the three maps of Carolina mentioned in this entry, copies of two which appeared in the *Suite du*

Neptune françois, nos. 78 and 79, are found among his sketches. The "Carte generale de la Caroline . . . par le Sr S . . .," is undated in Mortier's atlas of 1700, but Claude Delisle wrote on his sketch of this map: "Cette carte a été aportée d'Holland [en] 1699." The differences between his copy of this map, AN, JJ, 75-223, and the model are explained in a note in the handwriting of Claude Delisle: "Jay ajouté ce quil y a de plus dans l'original Anglois dont l'auteur est Joel Gascoigne." The title of the other map of Carolina, AN, JJ, 75-224, reads: "Carte Particuliere de la Caroline . . . par le S^{r} S . . ."; it is also undated in Mortier's atlas, but as in the case of the preceding one, he noted that it was brought from Holland in 1699.—The map "de l'Empire Anglois," is probably *A New Map of the English Empire in America, . . .* By Rob. Morden, London, [1695?].

Delisle copied other English maps, v. g., "Virginia Pars," AN, JJ, 75-22, showing the coast between latitudes 28° and 38° 30′, and the interior as far as the Alleghenies; on the top of the sketch AN, JJ, 75-213bis, he wrote: "Tiré de La Carte intitulée A New Map of New England, imp. a Lond. Chez Thornton, sold by R. Morden." He also used the text of De Laet, Book III, as can be seen from the sketches AN, JJ, 75-211, 218, 219; and he combined the data from these sectional maps in the draft AN, JJ, 75-221.

POUR LES TERRES DES ESPAGNOLS

1 Histoire des Indes Occidentales par Lopes de Gomara.

This entry does not refer to the French translation of Gómara's book, *Histoire Generalle des Indes Occidentales, . . .* traduite en François par le S. de Genillé Mart. Fumée. Although at least nine editions of this translation had appeared by the end of the sixteenth century, Delisle made use of the Latin translation in *Cosmographia, siue Descriptio universi Orbis, Petri Apiani & Gemmae Frisij, . . .,* Antwerp, 1584, which reproduces the original more exactly. Compare, for instance, the Spanish and Latin texts, *supra,* 192, note 4, and 193, note 5 with that of Fumée, p. 14 of the 1587 edition: "Du goulfe Baxo, on met 400 mil iusqu'à la riuiere de las Nieues: de là iusqu'au fleuue de Flores y a 200 mil, autãt iusqu'à el San Espirito, laquelle par vn autre nõ on appelle la Culata, ell'a de costé 120 mil. De cette plage qui est à 29 degrez, y a plus de 280 mil isuques au fleuue de piscadores: . . ." The title of the sketch AN, JJ, 75-137 reads: "Route maritime des-Costes de L'Amerique tirée de (*l'hi*) La description de l'Amerique de Lopéz de Gomera dans Appian."

2 Relation du Mexique par Thomas Gage Jacobin (qui y allat en 1625 &c).

Several French translations of Gage's *The English-American, his travail by sea and land: or, A New svrvey of the West India's, . . .,* London, 1648, were published at Amsterdam, before the end of the seventeenth century, v. g., *Nouvelle Relation, contenant les Voyages de Thomas Gage dans la Nouvelle Espagne, . . .*, 2 volumes, Amsterdam, 1695.

3 Les Découvertes du Nouveau Mexique ramassées par Laet.

See in Book IV of De Laet's *L'histoire dv Nouveau Monde.* The following sketches, AN, JJ, 75-272, 275, 279, 280, are based on the text of De Laet, which is an abridgment of that of Herrera. In the notice sent to the editors of the *Mémoires de Trévoux,* Delisle says that the map of Mexico is based on Herrera's description of that country; cf. the title of AN, JJ, 75-278. There were two translations of Herrera's *Descripcion de las Indias occidentales* which he could have used, one in Latin and one in French, both published at Amsterdam in 1622, *Novvs Orbis, Sive Descriptio Indiae Occidentalis . . .*, and *Description des Indes Occidentales, Qu'on appelle aujourdhuy le Novveau Monde.*

4 Relation de ce pais par le P. Alfonse de Benavides Custode des Cordeliers qui y sont établis v. mss.

This manuscript which was copied by Claude Delisle, ASH, 115-10: no. 5, is an abridgment of the French translation of Benavides' *Memorial,* published at Brussells in 1631, *Reqveste Remonstrative av Roy d'Espagne svr la conversion du Nouveau Mexico.* The sketch based on it is entitled: "Nouveau Mexique tiré de la relation d'Alfonse de Benavides imprimée a Madrit 1630 (dans Laet)," AN, JJ, 75-276. The words "dans Laet" must refer to the very abridged account in the 1640 French translation of De Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt oft Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien,* for the sketch map has geographical details which are found in the *Reqveste* but not in De Laet's book.

5 autre relation m. s. du meme pais faite par le P. Estevan de Perea qui m'a été communiquee par M. l'Abbé Bernou.

An extract from this relation in an unidentified hand in ASH, 115-9:no. 4². A, is entitled "Extrait d'une Relation du Nouveau Mexique ecrite à la main par un Indien dans le pay Espagnol." *Incipit:* "Pendant l'anné 1581 le Pᵉ Augustin Rodriguez Religieux Cordelier vivoit parmi les Indiens appeles Conchos de la vallée de Sᵗᵃ Barbara." *Explicit:* "Elle [Rivière du Nord] entre dans la mer du Coté du Nord dans l'anse du Mexique avec trois lieues d'embouchure à 60 lieues avant d'arriver à la Guasteca." Parker entered the document as follows: "Extrait d'une relation du Nouveau Mexique écrite à la main en espagnol par un Indien dans le pais touchant ce que les pères de l'ordre de St. François ont fait dans le Nouveau Mexique depuis l'année 1581 par le P. Fray Estevan de Perea, prédicateur et custode de l'ordre de St. François." This document is different from the *Verdadera Relacion* of Perea, published at Seville in 1632, translated into English and published by Lansing B. Bloom, "Fray Estévan de Perea's *Relación*," *New Mexico Historical Review,* VIII, 1933, 211-235.

6 Carte du Nouveau Mexique dressee sur ces mémoires et autres écrits sur les lieux et principalement sur les memoires du C^te^ de Pignalosse.

The title of the manuscript original of this map reads: "Carte du Noaueau Mexique tirée des Relations de Mons^r^ le Comte de Peñalossa qui en a esté gouuerneur en 1665 du manuscrit du pere Esteuan de Perea custode de l'ord[re] de Saint francois dans le mesme pays et d'autres memoires escrits sur les lieux," SHB, B 4049-28. W. Lowery, *Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions,* Washington, D. C., 1912, 200, no. 225, dates it "1700?" but it was certainly made before 1687, because Coronelli used it to draw his *Le Nouveau Mexique appelé aussi Nouvelle Grenade et Marata.* . . . A Paris. Chez J. B. Nolin . . . Auec Privilege du Roy. 168 [sic]. The last digit of the date should be a "7," because this map was one of the first published by Nolin after Coronelli transferred his privilege to him, January 8, 1687. In a note in the second cartouche, Coronelli repeats what is said in the title of the manuscript map. Lowery observes that the map is anonymous, as a matter of fact it is not signed but the title and the legends are all in the handwriting of Claude Bernou who gave it to Coronelli, and later to Claude Delisle; the latter's tracing is in AN, JJ, 75-270. The memoirs spoken of in the above entry are those of Perea and of Benavides. After a careful examination of the Coronelli published map Joseph-Nicolas Delisle wrote: "L'on ne trouve pas sur cette carte les details qui sont dans la relation du voyage du Comte de Penalossa à Quivira en 1662," ASH, 115-11:no. 4. A, namely, in the *Relacion del descubrimiento del Pais y Ciudad de Quivira echo por D. Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa, escrito por el Padre Fr. Nicolas de Freytas,* which was presented to Seignelay in 1684.

7 Relation des missions faites dans le Nouveau Mexique par les Jesuites tiree des journaux d'Italie.

This is perhaps the Brevis Relatio Missionum S. J. published in the *Giornale dei Letterati* for 1692.

8 Carte M. S. d'une p^tie^ du nouveau Mexique faite par le P. Kino Jes. et envoiee à M. Regis par M. le Duc d'Escalone qui m'a été communiquée.

On this map cf. H. E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom,* New York, 1936, 566-569 and 607-608. "M. Regis" is Pierre-Sylvain Regis, see Fontenelle, *Oeuvres,* 7 volumes, London, 1785, III, 131-146; the Duc d'Escalone is the Duque de Escalona who later became Viceroy of Naples. The De Fer map spoken of by Bolton is dated 1700 and was published in the first edition of *L'Atlas curieux,* 1705 is the date of the second edition. The draft of the letter to Regis in ASH, 115-17 C, should be dated June 1700; see *Journal des Sçavans,* May 24, 1700, 214.

9 Route des Espagnols quand ils allerent chasser les françois de la Baye de St. Louis tirée des memoires de M. d'Iberville.

This is the itinerary of the De León expedition of 1689; H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest 1542-1706,* New York, 1930, 388-404. The map made by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, AGI, 61-6-21(2), is entitled "Camino que el año de 1689 hizo el Gouernador Alonso de Leon desde Cuahuila hasta hallar cerca del Lago de S^{n} Bernardo el lugar done havian poblado los Franceses." Bernou secured a copy of this map, simplified it, translated the directions and distances into French and gave it the following title: "Route que firent les Espagnols pour venir enlever les françois restez a la Baye S Bernard ou S^{t} Louis aprez la perte du vaisseau de M^{r} de la Salle en 1689," Cartes et Plans, 14, 99. As for its being taken from the memoirs of Iberville, I have not found in the extant writings of Iberville sufficient data for the drawing of this route. De León's journey is sketchily indicated on a manuscript map of 1699, SHB, C 4044-45, as well as on a variant of it, SHB, C 4040-2, and also on an anonymous "Carte du Mississipy," ASH, 138bis-1-3. It does not appear on the printed map of 1703, although it is shown by a double dotted line on two drafts of it, AN, JJ, 75-253 and SHB, C 4040-4, but Guillaume Delisle inserted the route in his published map of 1718.

Notes and Comment

If you are one of the members of the American Historical Association who passed up Guy Stanton Ford's article entitled "Your Business," in *The American Historical Review* for April 1943, you missed what we consider several editorial gems. This report of the Executive Secretary is in general an interesting and stimulating approach to the subject of historical activities. It will go far toward inspiring members of the Association to a personal concern about the many-sided business of the Association. Clearly, the business of the Association is no longer a flat, printed balance sheet, which one might look at unseeingly and set aside as none of his business. One of the editorial gems (page 462 to 464) pertains to the hubbub being stirred especially in our East about the teaching (or lack thereof) of history in colleges, about which we bandied some words in the January number of MID-AMERICA under the title of "Alarms in History." If the specter of legislation to control the teaching of history in schools and colleges is again haunting the minds of super-patriots it will be the personal business of the Association to lay the ghost once and for all by a national campaign similar to that of James K. Hosmer and Dr. Ford in Minnesota after the last war. Historians will indeed fail their trust to American history if they enlist in the cause of the misguided agitators mentioned by Dr. Ford.

Joseph Schafer, Student of Agriculture, a brochure, has been published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, under the direction of the present superintendent, Edward P. Alexander. It is a deserved tribute to the memory of the man who for twenty years from 1920 was superintendent of the same Society. After a Foreword by Mr. Alexander, Louis Phelps Kellogg tells of "Joseph Schafer, the Historian," and Clarence B. Lester describes "Joseph Schafer, the Man." Then follows a "Bibliography of the Writings of Joseph Schafer," efficiently compiled by Everett E. Edwards and Thomas J. Maycock. Why this renowned professor of history with so many and varied interests and writings within this field should be designated as a student of agriculture, is told (page 24) by Mr. Lester: ". . . an abiding love for the land . . . colored all his work." The many people who knew the late Dr. Schafer will be glad to see this publication.

Regarding present-day conditions and trends in Brazil, two recent publications should be mentioned: *Brazil in the Making,* by José Jobim (The Macmillan Company, New York, pp. 318), and *Brazil 1940-41, An Economic, Social, and Geographic Survey* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, pp. 382).

Brazil in the Making, says Senor Jobim in his introduction, "comprising a series of short descriptive units, attempts to make clear, in compact form, the principal aspects of Brazilian industry, . . ." The purpose is carried out by means of carefully marshalled statistics agreeably presented through some three hundred pages. The result is a very handy introduction to the industry and commerce of Brazil. The frank statements of problems and deficiencies is typical of the intelligent fashion in which Brazilian writers appraise their country and express their realistic attitude toward the state of its progress. There is no hiding of skeletons, nor is there exaggeration or boasting. And, from the statistics on the progress of Brazil in all lines of endeavor, Senor Jobim would have been pardoned a little boasting. One may have confidence in this work for its honesty,

Brazil 1940-41, edited by Senor Jobim, is a far more elaborate yearbook than any of its predecessors. The charts, tables of statistics, and data are put in an historical setting. It is a notable collaborative effort covering almost every phase of Brazilian activity: climate, soil, man, geography, history, immigration, armed forces, foreign policy, education, labor and social legislation, social medicine, civil service, and budget, in ninety-two pages, and production, manufacturing, trade, finance, transport, and communication as the body of the work.

Thus, in two forms, commercial men, prospective investors, industrialists, tourists, economists, and historians have at hand in greater and less detail two serviceable accounts of the great South American empire.

Statistics are one way of telling a story. As they appear in these books they tell a story of great significance. Brazil, following its newer policy of self-sufficiency and scrapping the national notions of mere self-sustenance, is well along in its transition toward industrialization. Raw products will continue to be exported, but more and more are they being used in manufactures within the nation. While there is yet a deficiency in precision equipment, machinery, instruments, and some raw materials, much progress is apparent, despite wartime limitations on importations. Economically, and socially, Brazil is no longer "a desert of men and ideas." Lessons of the last war, especially regarding the overemphasis upon coffee as the chief sustaining item, have been well learned, to say nothing of those deriving from the Depression. Brazil during the past ten years has undergone a complete economic, political, and social transformation, and it faces the future with remarkably broad vision.

Of all things, in this time of world crises and thundering guns, there appears Volume I, Number 1, of *Tlalocan,* a Journal of Source Materials on the Native Cultures of Mexico. The newcomer is introduced in two pages by its co-editors, R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor, and promptly begins its publication of documents. The scholar-ship behind the editions of materials is of a high order. Besides three noted Mexican scholars, the board of editorial advisors has the names of Carl Sauer and Paul Radin. The journal is published by The House of Tlaloc, 1725 Vallejo Way, Sacramento (14), California.

From the same publishers comes a very scholarly work, *Nombre de Dios, Durango,* which consists of two documents in Náhuatl concerning the foundation of that city, edited by R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor. These are the "Memorial of the Indians Concerning Their Services," written about 1563, and the "Agreement of the Mexican and the Michoacanos," made in 1585. The documents and their translations face each other in the beautifully printed pages. This book, only 103 pages including bibliography, three appendices, and index, will become a rare item, since the edition is numbered and is limited to 130 copies.

Unfortunately, too few people will be able to handle the volume or use its contents, just as too few students have utilized the works of Dr. Carl Sauer on the geography and anthropology of the Mexican northwest. The reason for the neglect will be sought for by the next generation, which will marvel that more students did not get interested sooner in this great field. Other studies will offer new leads in the field of human geography, and other writers will carve similar fine contributions from the many raw materials already gathered by the geographers of the University of California. This documentary account of the foundation of the little city of Durango may seem a luxury study in these our days, but it is a significant proof of the progress being made in an ever widening field.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly for April 1943 contains a "book" in article form, namely, "The German Drama on the Early New Orleans Stage," by Arthur H. Moehlenbrock. Originally a dissertation it now runs from page 361 to 627 in print including an appendix of all the known theatrical performances presented in German in New Orleans from 1839 to 1890, which runs for 173 pages. The significance of this rather elaborate publication lies in the attitude of the Louisiana Historical Society to publish in as much detail as possible the studies and documents pertaining to the history of the State.

Book Reviews

Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines, 1564-1572. By Edward J. McCarthy. The Catholic University of America, Studies in Hispanic-American History, Vol. III. Washington, 1943. Pp. ix, 145.

Despite the extensive publication of sources for the history of the Spaniards in the Philippines, these materials have been relatively little used by historians. In this slim volume, a doctoral dissertation, Father McCarthy relies primarily upon the two principal collections of printed documents, Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands* and the *Colección de documentos inéditos . . . de ultramar,* to tell the story of Spanish beginnings in the period ending with the death of Miguel López de Legazpi.

The book begins with an introductory chapter which recalls, perhaps in unnecessary detail, the familiar story of the first exploits of Portuguese and Spanish oceanic exploration. Of more immediate concern for an understanding of the establishment of Spanish power in the Philippines is the author's survey of the preliminary Spanish trans-Pacific voyages and the Spanish-Portuguese diplomacy which sought to delimit the oriental spheres of activity of these two nations. The story proper gets under way with a more detailed account of the preliminaries and accomplishments of the Legazpi expedition from New Spain to the Philippines in 1564-65. Subsequent chapters recount the history of the difficult early days on the islands of Cebú and Panay; the relations with the indignant Portuguese, who not without reason considered the Spanish settlement in the Philippines as a breach of their treaty rights; the removal of the main Spanish settlement to Manila; and the spiritual conquest of the Philippine natives by the Augustinian friars who accompanied Legazpi. A final chapter seeks to assess the significance of Legazpi's role in the larger history of Spanish expansion.

Father McCarthy's work gives evidence of extensive use of available documents. There is some doubt, however, whether basic secondary accounts—such as W. L. Schurz's *Manila Galleon,* for example—have been exploited to full advantage. Several "blind spots" in the book leave the reader dissatisfied. Thus, for instance, "the chief thing attempted" in Legazpi's voyage, according to his instructions from the Audiencia of Mexico, was to be the discovery of a practicable return route from the Orient across the Pacific to New Spain. Yet the return voyage under Fray Andrés de Urdaneta and Felipe de Salcedo, which was destined to establish the route of the Philippine galleons for the next two and a half centuries, is dismissed in a short paragraph (p. 35). Similarly, there is evidence that before his death

Legazpi had laid plans for making the Philippines the entrepôt for a thriving trade between China and New Spain, yet there are only scattered references to this all-important subject. In short, the volume by no means exploits all phases of Spanish beginnings in the Philippines. Finally, it should be noted that the book contains numerous inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the matter of Spanish and Portuguese spelling and, in particular, accentuation.

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Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936, Volume V, The End of the Spanish Regime. By Carlos E. Castañeda. Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, Austin, Texas, 1942. Pp. 514. Illustrated.

Delayed by a series of circumstances including the death of the beloved historian and editor-in-chief, Father Paul J. Foik, this book was worth waiting for. The new editor, James P. Gibbons, C. S. C., chairman of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission sponsoring the project, has carried out very well the standards set in the earlier volumes. So also has Dr. Castañeda, historiographer of the Commission. With the sixth volume Dr. Castañeda will conclude his contribution to the seven-volume opus at the year 1836. The final pages bringing the narrative to 1936 are to be written by another member of the Commission. The shelf is to be completed by 1944.

The End of the Spanish Regime is concerned with all aspects of Texas affairs from 1770 to 1810. The broad outlines of the story appear in the chapter headings. Within this frame the topical form is followed. The opening is a description of Spain's attempt to meet the English menace to her frontier by means of administrative reforms and new policies with respect to the Christianization of the Indians. Plans for subduing the Apaches and for winning friendly trade relations with the surrounding tribes of the Interior Provinces were made. A fear of aggression on the part of the new United States was a spur to defensive action. The effect of Spain's new program, especially the economic, upon the Texas population decrease during the last quarter of the eighteenth century is revealed. And the population in Spain's three centers of power was only 2,819 in 1783!

The three following chapters are devoted to the secularization of the missions in the 1790's, the establishment of new missions, and the last attempt at utilizing the missionary for the control of the Indians. These pages are carved practically from source materials, and are climaxed by the exposition of the Alberola hoax. Chapter five has to do with the establishment of communication lines, as a unifying element, between San Antonio and Santa Fe, St. Louis, Natchez, and the eastern Texas frontier settlements. This is followed by two excellent chapters on military, missionary, social, and economic conditions to

1800, with a lively account of such topics as James Wilkinson's schemes, Indian hostilities, coastal explorations, and illicit trade. Spain's fear of foreign intruders hangs over all as a great shadow. The next chapter in fifty-three pages narrates of the Louisiana Purchase and of the first clashes with adventurers, filibusters, and traders from the United States. The mission as an agency for keeping the allegiance of the Indians or stemming the incoming tide of foreigners was useless. So too was the mobilization of troops in various centers futile. To save Texas Spain then bethought herself of formal colonization. The difficulties surrounding this project, the restrictions on foreign settlers, the illegal entries, the administrative disagreements, and the stupidity of the Spanish court are given detailed treatment. Moribund Spain was in no position to hold the land let alone exploit its possibilities.

Napoleon by his occupation of Portugal and Spain loomed in backward Texas as a spectre of aggression as large as the United States. The reactions of the French intervention on Texas are recorded by Dr. Castañeda in a very long but interesting chapter. The conclusion is a final survey of conditions on the eve of the Mexican break for independence from Spain, with special emphasis upon the revolutionary temper of the people of the Interior Provinces. The interest remains to the end of the book.

Dr. Castañeda has performed a notable service of organization of materials. Moreover, he has presented scholars with nearly thirty pages of bibliography of manuscript source materials. He has made judicious use of the materials already printed and of the monograph materials. Some other reviewer may find fault with an occasional interpretation or emphasis, but this reviewer thinks the book a very good book.

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Indian Villages of the Illinois Country. Illinois State Museum, Scientific Papers, Volume II, Part I, Atlas. Compiled by Sarah Jones Tucker, Springfield, Illinois, 1942. Pp. xiii, 18, liv map plates.

Five years ago a group of specialists in the ethno-history of the Upper Mississippi Valley met to discuss the possibility of forming a permanent organization for the promotion of studies in their field, with especial emphasis on the history of the contacts of the Indians with white men within the limits of the present states of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio. This meeting was held in June 1938 and one year later the representatives of twelve institutions (later twenty-two), including both anthropologists and historians, met and adopted a definitive program for which Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole and Dr. Robert Redfield were largely responsible.

The program included three distinct undertakings. The first was the discovery of all relevant documentary materials available. This meant, of course, a systematic search of all accessible archives and libraries for unique or excessively rare material—letters, narratives, maps, drawings, mission reports, traders' records, etc.—and, as well, an examination of the files of little-known newspapers, periodicals, and other printed sources of equal rarity. The second step was to assemble this material, in the form of microfilm or photostatic reproductions, at a convenient center and to put it into working order for the use of students. Finally, important sections of this material were to be edited for publication, when possible.

The University of Chicago and the University of Michigan began work immediately by sending full-time research workers in the field to study, survey, select, and photograph materials. Until 1941 the research at the University of Chicago was carried on by the Department of Anthropology with the aid of funds from the Social Science Research Committee; since 1941 the American Philosophical Society has taken over the entire financial support. Thousands of pages of reproductions of manuscripts have been selected and assembled by Sara Jones Tucker and they are now being arranged under her able supervision. Mrs. Tucker has also produced the first tangible evidence of the general usefulness of the material brought together under this program, in the historical atlas, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country.* Although she has undertaken the full burden of this compilation, she expresses appreciation to Lieutenant Colonel Thorne Deuel not only for the idea of producing this work but also for the financial management of the publication in such exceptionally fine form.

The atlas contains fifty-four maps, dating from 1671 to 1830, reproduced in collotype. Prefacing the plates are eighteen pages of notes, giving author, title and date of each map, the location and archival number of the original, its size, the scale reduction of the plate, the location of the copy used and, also, what is especially valuable, a brief biographical note of the cartographer when obtainable, a summary of historical events which help to determine the significance of the map, and bibliographical references. It is sometimes unfortunate that the vocabulary and sentence structure of these notes are not more simple. As to the content, limits of time have prevented the compiler from producing definitive information concerning each map, a shortcoming which Mrs. Tucker herself mentions. Eminent specialists, however, have been consulted so that the margin of error might be reduced to as near a minimum as possible. In fact for a person doing anything less than an extraordinarily scholarly work, these notes will supply all the necessary information and, indeed, far more than is provided in any other published map lists, with the possible exception of that published as a preface to Paulin's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* and the description of Franquelin's maps appearing in the January 1943 MID-AMERICA under the title of "Franquelin, Mapmaker." Furthermore, the bibliographical references give a starting point for any one who wishes to check facts or to delve further. Some specialists may notice the absence of certain maps and wonder why others have been included. But a choice had to be made and the compiler admits both omissions and possible differences of opinion concerning the relative importance of materials. It must also be emphasized, in this connection, that this volume is to be accompanied by another which will contain manuscript texts; the texts have suggested the maps here included.

This first publication is very useful for historical, ethnological, and cartographical research and it deserves a high place as an extremely valuable reference sheaf of maps, well done.

RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER

The Newberry Library

The Progress of Pan-Americanism, A Historical Survey of Latin-American Opinion. Translated and edited by T. H. Reynolds. The Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1942. Pp. 418.

This is the third of a series of books designed by Professor Reynolds as an aid in acquainting North Americans with the South American mind. When our President and our Department of State committed this country officially to the Good Neighbor Policy, it was clear that the American public should be informed about the republics involved in the commitment, especially as regards their way of thinking. Hence, there has arisen a great interest in the obligations of our new role and in the historical antecedents which have brought us to the status of united nations. Seeing the need of a convenient volume for orientating the thought of laymen and college students Professor Reynolds has gathered together a number of articles, addresses, and proceedings of various inter-American conferences.

The articles selected from different Latin American periodicals and news columns for translation into English are stimulating. So many phases of the inter-American relations are touched upon that it presumably seemed impossible to arrange a suitable index to the book. By using smaller type in the text, still smaller in many of the quotations, and twenty-eight pica lines, a very great amount of material has been compressed into the four hundred pages. The articles are grouped topically, under chapter numbers, though there is no table of contents to aid in finding them. Bibliographies appear after some of the articles.

All in all, there is little to criticize in a book of this kind. It is meant to be a service, and Dr. Reynolds is to be commended for rendering such a service in compact form. Readers here will find the viewpoints and utterances of the leading statesmen and economists of

North and South America. They will come to a better appreciation of the great political, economic, social, and cultural problems. They will see what steps have been taken and what programs toward consolidating the Americas are in progress. They will meet with the agencies established for the conduct of the programs, and with the foreign and South American thought regarding them.

Jerome V. Jacobsen

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Principles for Peace. Edited by Harry C. Koenig, S. T. D. National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington, D. C., 1943. Pp. xxv, 894.

This volume contains a timely and valuable presentation of source material, chronologically arranged from 1878, consisting of selected utterances—encyclicals, homilies, exhortations, and allocutions—of Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI, and Pius XII. A concise biography of each of these Popes precedes the documents pertaining to his reign. Father Koenig has made a special effort to concentrate on those documents which during this period reflect the views of the Church on world conditions, with especial emphasis upon their relationship to world peace. The *sine qua non* for any new world order is clearly set forth in these papal pronouncements. No more keen and incisive diagnosis of the ills that have befallen human society during the modern era is to be found anywhere. Repeatedly were statesmen and people warned long in advance of the two World Wars. President Roosevelt in an address in Chicago some years ago similarly warned the world, yet long before Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI foresaw in its grim details the approaching calamity of mechanized warfare.

More than any other agency the Vicars of Christ have realized that the evils of mankind have not always resulted exclusively from the designs of unscrupulous leaders, whether designated as Caesar, Napoleon, Kaiser, or dictator, but that causes of disastrous movements lie much deeper. Behind international and municipal law is the moral code as applied to individual conduct, requiring a ready recognition by each person of fixed and determinate standards of right and wrong instead of that vague, indeterminate, uncertain code referred to by some philosophers as the "mores" of the community. The fundamental principles of the moral law have suffered no compromise on the part of the Popes, and even the more retiring Popes have been adamant in adhering to them and eloquent in propounding them. Social evils have been called to the attention of all states. The papacy has unceasingly urged action to better the world according to principles of justice and charity. Clearly, both Benedict XV and Pius XI approved of an international arrangement for the preservation of world order and peace. Both saw the shoals of destruction toward which the ideals of Woodrow Wilson were headed. After the last war, "Peace, indeed, was signed in the solemn conclave," said Pius XI. But "It was not written in the hearts of men."

The many official papal pronouncements are truly remarkable, for their incisiveness and vision, and, be it said, for the manner in which they went unheeded by the world. In the present conflict they should be studied deeply and effectively. During the past war no such volume was published. Now, through the painstaking work of Father Koenig, principles for a lasting peace may be read widely. Archbishop Samuel A. Stritch of Chicago and the Bishop's Committee on the Pope's Peace Points are to be complimented for their foresight in sponsoring the edition of this exceedingly pertinent contribution to the discussions on world reconstruction. Let us hope that it will be a potent factor in influencing for good the men ultimately responsible for the making of peace.

John A. Zvetina

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VOLUME XXV

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